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INDIGENOUS
STATES OF NORTHERN INDIA
(Circa 200 B. C. to 320 A. D.)

5257

With a Foreword
BY
PROFESSOR R. C. MAJUMDAR

BELA LAHIRI, M. A., D. LITT.
READER IN HISTORY
JADAVPUR UNIVERSITY

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA
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INDIGENOUS STATES OF NORTHERN INDIA
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Thesis approved for the Degree of Doctor of Literature in the University of Calcutta

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FOREWORD

This book deals with the political history of Northern India during the period of half a millennium that intervened between the fall of the Maurya and the rise of the Gupta Empire. This is usually referred to as the Dark Age, for compared with our knowledge of the two Empires our knowledge of the history of the period is very meagre. It witnessed the rise of a number of small independent principalities all over Northern India and constant streams of invasions by foreigners like the Greeks, the Śakas, the Parthians and the Kushāṇas, none of whom, except the last, has left a fair number of epigraphic records. The literary references, too, are not only meagre but very obscure and do not help us very much in reconstructing their history. The main source of information about them is quite a large number of coins which enable us to locate a number of independent states with the names of their rulers, but do not throw much light on their relations with one another nor their chronology. It is therefore a very difficult task to reconstruct the political history of Northern India from 200 B. C. to 320 A. D. It is therefore gratifying to note that Dr. (Mrs.) Bela Lahiri has undertaken this arduous task, and, so far as I can judge, has done it remarkably well. She has studied all the available sources of information and various theories based upon different interpretations of the source materials, and presented a picture of the political condition of Northern India which may justly be regarded as a pioneer's work, for though there are many articles and small books dealing with individual States, as well as short account of them in some historical works, this is the first comprehensive study of the whole of Northern India during that somewhat obscure period. Her discussion of the history of the Śuṅga Dynasty is very critical and thorough, and the history of the individual States that follows is as complete as the available materials permit. This scholarly work fills up a gap in our knowledge of ancient Indian history and students of that subject should welcome it as supplying a long-felt need.

R. C. Majumdar

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To the sacred memory of my parents whose blessings were a constant source of my inspiration.

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PREFACE

The attention of writers on the early history of India has been generally drawn by the interesting story of the successive rule of the Greeks, Scythians, Parthians and Kushāṇas in the north-western parts of the Indian subcontinent and the adjoining areas in the period between the fall of the Mauryas and the rise of the Guptas, i.e. *c.* 200 B.C. to 320 A.D. The history of the indigenous ruling families and clans of Northern India, which flourished in the same age and played no small part in contemporary politics, has usually been neglected. We have made here an attempt to reconstruct the history of the Indigenous States of Northern India during the period in question from a critical study of the available data, specially the literary, epigraphic and numismatic records.

Besides an Introduction, our work has four parts which are followed by the Conclusion and Appendix.

In the Introduction, we have dealt in a small compass with the historical background of the period with reference to the main trends of Indian history, the growth of the Magadhan empire, the causes of its gradual decay, the series of foreign invasions and the re-assertion of the spirit of local autonomy with the decline of that empire. We have also made an evaluation of the different source materials that help us in reconstructing the history of the indigenous states of the period.

In Part I, which is divided into three chapters, we have discussed how the Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas failed to hold intact the empire inherited from the Mauryas and how this led to the growth of a number of semi-autonomous and independent states. In Chapter I the problems connected with Pushyamitra have been discussed with particular reference to the circumstances that led to his sudden rise to power. Chapter II deals with the Later Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas as well as the subsequent history of Magadha. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the points raised with regard to the question of the capital of the Later Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas and the extent of their dominions. Chapter III deals with the autonomous towns and cities which took the earliest opportunity to declare independence of the imperial authority.

In Part II we have discussed the history of the monarchical states that grew up in Madhyadeśa with the decline of the Śuṅgas. The

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question of the so-called 'Mitras' of different localities has been thoroughly discussed and it has been shown from a critical and comparative study of their coins that they were not scions of the Śuṅga family nor did they belong to a single dynasty. An attempt has been made to arrange the numerous local rulers of Northern India in an approximate chronological order, based on the typological study of their coins.

Part III deals with the rise and fall of the various tribal oligarchical states of the Punjab region. We have gathered all available information about the various tribes and discussed the questions of their antiquity, identification and location, the different forms of their government, and their relation with the contemporary foreign powers. We have offered our suggestions with regard to a number of points, e.g., the attribution of the so-called 'Mahādeva' coins hitherto included in the list of the monetary issues of the Audumbaras; the light thrown on the original territory of the Kulūtas by the Taxila find of their coins;* and the location of the Vṛishṇis as suggested by their unique silver piece.

Part IV presents detailed account of the tribal states of the Rajasthan area as well as the Nāgas of Padmāvatī and other centres. We have tried to follow the course of migration of some of the tribes from the Punjab area to Rajasthan. With regard to the Nāgas, we have thoroughly examined the theories of Jayaswal, and offered in many cases different interpretations of the facts observed by him. In fixing the chronology of the Nāga rulers, we have followed a method different from that in H. V. Trivedi's work on the subject.

The Conclusion contains a summary of our study of the history of the indigenous states as well as a discussion of the cultural importance of the period.

The Appendix gives a topographical list of the relevant inscriptions indicating their bearing on our subject.

It has to be admitted that the material at our disposal are often inadequate and it is not possible to come to a definite conclusion on a number of points. Some of our views, therefore, must necessarily remain hypothetical for the present. We have to depend mainly on coins which are, in may cases, ill-preserved or known only from bad illustrations, the number of available coins of some rulers or states often being

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* Whitehead's remark about the metal of the unique round coin of Kulūta Vīrayaśas misled us (cf. p. 229, n. 7 below). It is actually of copper, as stated by Cunningham and Allan.

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very few. We have, therefore, tried not to be dogmatic in our interpretation of the evidence of the 'monumental records', and it is upto the readers to judge the merit of our endeavour.

The present work was submitted to the University of Calcutta as the D.Litt. thesis as early as 1962 and was sent to the press through the University in 1964, after its approval for that degree in 1963. But it is unfortunate that its printing has taken such a long time for unavoidable reasons. Naturally, therefore, some publications have come out in the mean time, on a few topics covered by this comprehensive thesis, and it has not always been possible to take note of them all during the printing stage. We now crave the indulgence of readers for such unavoidable omissions. We may also in this connection express our deep regret for various printing mistakes which may have escaped our notice.

I am grateful to Professor S. K. Saraswati under whom I worked in the earlier stage of my researchs as a Government of India Research Fellow in Humanities at the library of the Asiatic Society. I am also thankful to Dr. D. C. Sircar, who kindly permitted me to use his office library for studying epigraphical materials while he was the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund, and went through some portion of the MS. of my work and offered some suggestions for its improvement. My thanks are due to Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, who, in collaboration with Sm. Kalyani Das, assisted me in preparing the Index.

Professor R. C. Majumdar has put me under eternal debt of gratitude by writing the Foreword of this book inspite of his advanced age and various pre-occupations. Above all, the unstinted help and advice of my husband, Dr. A. N. Lahiri, have provided a constant source of inspiration. His reasoned criticisms, although sharp and not always so pleasant, have been ultimately helpful.

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1974

Bela Lahiri

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INTRODUCTION

India is a single geographical unit ; but never before modern times it was possible to bring the entire country under one sway due to its vastness and diversities, mainly geographical and ethnological. Yet with the gradual spread of the socio-religious ideology of the conquering Aryans into a greater part of the country, a loose bond of cultural unity slowly grew up and, even in the early historical period, political thinkers began to dream of the entire country under one sway. And a number of empires covering wide areas of the country actually sprang up in ancient times.

But due to the operation of diverse factors, no empire, however great, was destined to live long ; and, during the interval between the fall of one empire and the rise of another, the country was divided into a number of states fighting with one another for supremacy. A faithful record of these petty states that sprang out of the ruins of comparatively big empires is not usually available. Consequently, various gaps are noticed in the chronological sequence of the history of ancient India, and these gaps, the so-colled 'dark ages,' cover a greater part of India's early history than what is recorded about the imperial powers.

Thus, out of the sixteen *Mahājanapadas* of the time of the Buddha, there arose in Northern India four great states, viz. Avanti, Vatsa, Kośala and Magadha, which again coalesced into one mighty monarchy—that of Magadha—under the vigorous imperialistic policy followed by the Nandas and the Mauryas. And the first nearest approach to the realisation of the ideal of Indian unity was attained under the Maurya monarch Aśoka.

We get a fairly accurate idea of the extent of Aśoka's empire from the distribution of his Edicts as well as from their internal evidence.[1] His empire embraced practically the whole of India

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1 For the distribution of Aśoka's Edicts see D. C. Sircar, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, pp. 26-30 ; add *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV, pp. 1 ff. for the Graeco-Aramaic inscription from Shar-i-Kuna (near Kandahar, Afghanistan). The internal evidence consists in the mention of the independent border states termed as *Pratyantas* in Rock edict II, and *Antas* in Rock Edict XIII.

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including parts of Afghanistan and Baluchistan and the former North-West Frontier Province in the west and Bengal in the east, and from the Nepalese Tarai in the north to the borders of the Tamil states of the Far South.[2] This southern boundary is marked roughly by the five copies of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edicts discovered in the Chitaldrug District of Mysore and the Kurnool District of Andhra Pradesh.[3] But Aśoka's spiritual influence extended far beyond, even over the Tamil states of the Far South and Ceylon, as well as over the Yavana kingdoms of the Mediterranean region (cf. Rock Edict XIII). It was thus for the first time in the history of India that the sway of a historical emperor was obeyed throughout the length and breadth of India—excepting only the few small states of Southern India and probably Assam in the east. Even these outlying provinces would probably also have come under Aśoka's rule, had not the Kaliṅga war brought in a change in his policy and put an end to further military exploits. The Kaliṅga conquest, which revealed the manifold evils of war and thus brought the conqueror directly under the influence of the Buddhist doctrine of *ahiṁsā*, changed the course of Indian history, so much so that soon after the death of Aśoka the mighty empire that he had built gradually declined. In course of a few decades, the final blow was struck by Pushyamitra who, by killing his master Bṛihadratha, extinguished the last vestiges of the imperial Maurya house.[4]

Of course, forces both from within and from without were operative in undermining the foundation of the Maurya empire and no single cause can probably be adduced for it. Of the internal agencies, dissension in the imperial family, court intrigues and maladministration by the provincial officers must be placed first. It is evident from the accounts found in the Buddhist and the Puranic sources about the successors of Aśoka[5]

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2 For the extent of Aśoka's empire see *PHAI*[6], pp. 307 ff.

3 Cf. Brahmagiri, Siddapura and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara Edicts in the Chitaldrug District of Mysore, and Yerraguḍi and Rājula-Maṇḍagiri Edicts in the Kurnool District of Andhra Pradesh.

4 H. P. Sastri ascribes the main cause of the downfall of the Maurya empire to a Brahmanical reaction promoted by Pushyamitra (*JASB* 1910, pp. 259-60); for contrary views see *PHAI*[6], pp. 354 ff.

5 See *CHI*, p. 511 and *PHAI*[6], pp. 349 ff.

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that none of them was able to hold intact the vast empire bequeathed by him, and that the dismemberment of the empire set in soon after his death. Members of the imperial family snatched away parts of the empire and set up independent kingdoms. Thus, Jalauka, a son of Aśoka, is known from Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅginī* to have ruled in Kashmir, while Vīrasena, one of Aśoka's successors, is mentioned by Tāranātha as setting himself up as an independent ruler in Gandhāra.[6] It is not unlikely that Sophagasenus (Subhāgasena), 'King of the Indians,' with whom Antiochus III of Syria met on equal terms and 'renewed his friendship' about 206 B. C., was a scion of the house of Vīrasena.[7]

From the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, we know that the Maurya court was divided into two parties, one headed by the Maurya Minister who set up his partisan Yajñasena in Vidarbha as an independent ruler, and another headed by the Maurya General Pushyamitra who ultimately succeeded in usurping the Maurya throne itself and making his son the viceroy of Vidiśā.[8]

The evils of official maladministration in the provinces, which were responsible for their ultimate secession from the empire can be noticed even during the time of Aśoka from his Kaliṅga Edict I. The *Divyāvadāna* informs us that Taxila revolted twice—once during the reign of Bindusāra and again during the time of Aśoka himself—due to ministerial oppression.[9]

Again, the policy of *Dharma-vijaya*, pursued by Aśoka after his conquest of Kaliṅga and advocated by him for his successors as well (cf. Rock Edict XIII and Pillar Edict VII), was bound to undermine the military efficiency of the empire. Of course, it is true that Aśoka did not disband the army altogether, which is evident from his message to the border people (cf. Kaliṅga Edict II) that "the king will forgive them in respect of any offence that is pardonable" and to the forest folk that he had power to punish them in spite of his repentance so that "they may be ashamed of their crimes

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6 *Rājataraṅgini*, I, 108 f.; Tāranātha's trans. by Schiefner, pp. 48 f. (as quoted in *CHI*, p. 511).

7 Cf. *CHI*, p. 512.

8 *Mālavikāgnimitra* (Act I, 6-8), pp. 15-17.

9 Cf. *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 371 and 407 f.; also *PHAI*[6], p. 363.

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and may not be killed" (Rock Edict XIII). Such veiled threats would be meaningless, had not Aśoka maintained his regular army and kept it in readiness for possible troubles.[10]

But inaction gradually impaired the army's power of resistance to foreign invasions which were then threatening the north-western frontiers. The Maurya army which, under Chandragupta, repulsed the mighty forces of Seleucus, was now unable to combat the Greeks from Bactria, who not only invaded Madhyamikā, the Pañchāla country, Mathurā and Sāketa, but also besieged the Maurya capital Pāṭaliputra and held it for some time.

Moreover, the personal weakness of Aśoka's successors who failed to check the disintegrating forces, brought about the speedy decline of the Maurya empire. When India needed strong rulers like Chandragupta, she got only weaklings like Śāliśūka and Bṛihadratha whose descriptions in the *Yugapurāṇa*[11] and the *Harshacharita*[12] respectively do not speak well of their personal qualities. The ease with which the Maurya general Pushyamitra disposed of his master Bṛihadratha during a parade of his army, as narrated by Bāṇa, shows how the later Mauryas had lost personal contacts with their army.

The importance of the Yavana invasion of the country in bringing about the downfall of the Maurya empire cannot be minimised. The internal weakness of the imperial administration invited foreign invasion which, in its turn, helped Pushyamitra to a great extent in usurping the Maurya throne, as we shall see below (Ch. I, Sec. 2).

The expedition of the Seleucid emperor Antiochus III to the border-land of the Indian subcontinent, which took place about 206 B. C., though it had no direct bearing on the mainland, revealed the feebleness of the resistance that a properly equipped army was now likely to encounter in an invasion of the country.[13]

A large-scale Yavana invasion of the Maurya empire actually

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10 Cf. Barua, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, Vol. II, pp. 320-21.
11 Cf. *JBORS*, XIV, p. 401.
12 Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, II, p. 363.
13 Cf. *CHI*, p. 444.

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took place about two decades later, of which a valuable account is contained in the *Yugapurāṇa* section of the *Gārgīsaṁhitā*.[14] From it, we learn that the Greeks first seized the country of Pañchāla and the cities of Mathurā and Sāketa, capitals respectively of the Śūrasena and Kośala *janapadas* of the empire. Then the invaders proceeded towards the Maurya capital Pāṭaliputra which was occupied by them for some time. As a result, there was chaos everywhere and the people were being cruelly oppressed by the Yavanas.

The *Yugapurāṇa* narrates this event *immediately after the account of Śāliśūka* who was, according to the *Vishṇupurāṇa*, fourth in descent from Aśoka and third in ascent from the last Maurya king Bṛihadratha,[15] and is thus likely to have flourished about 200 B. C.[16] Patañjali, in his *Mahābhāshya*, apparently refers to this Greek invasion when he illustrates the use of the Imperfect Tense (*Laṅ*), by *aruṇad Yavanaḥ Sāketam, aruṇad Yavano Madhyamikām*[17] (the Yavana was besieging Sāketa, the Yavana was besieging Madhyamikā)—as events well-known to the people, which could have been witnessed by the speaker. In another place, he uses the Present Tense (*Laṭ*) with reference to a [horse-]sacrifice performed by Pushyamitra, in which he acted as a priest—*iha Pushyamitraṁ yājayāmaḥ*[18] (here we perform the [horse-]sacrifice of Pushyamitra)—to denote an action which has begun but not finished. From these two illustrations it is usually believed that Patañjali was a contemporary of Pushyamitra, and that the Greek invasion took place not long before the horse-sacrifice performed by Pushyamitra and within the living memory of Patañjali.[18a] According to the *Yugapurāṇa*, it occurred shortly after the reign of Śāliśuka. Thus

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14 For text, trans., etc. see Ch. 1, Sec. 2 below.

15 Cf. Wilson, *Vishṇupurāṇa*, Vol. IV, p. 186.

16 Cf. *AIU*, p. 106. In the *Yugapurāṇa*, a section in 6 lines immediately before the reference to the Yavanas describes Śāliśuka (see *JBORS*, XIV, p. 401) ; also *EHI*[4], p. 228, n. 1.

17 *Mahābhāshya* (on Pāṇini, III, ii, 111, vār. 2), Vol. II, p. 119.

18 Ibid. (on Pāṇini, III, ii, 123, vār. 1), p. 123.

18a See R. G. Bhandarkar, *Ind. Ant.*, 1872, p. 300 and H. C. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*[6], pp. 378-79 ; and cf. L. de la Vallée Poussin, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas*, p. 200, where he contends that these are but older stock-phrases which Patañjali merely utilised as illustrations. But the manner in which Patañjali refers to these

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the Greek invasion is most likely to have taken place during the reign of Bṛihadratha. It should not probably be dated *after* the accession of a usurper (i. e. Pushyamitra) in 184 B. C., as supposed by Tarn,[19] for, as we shall see below, the Greek invasion itself seems to have been mainly responsible for affording an opportunity to Pushyamitra in usurping the Maurya throne. It is also difficult to believe that the Yavana invasion of the country and occupation of the capital took place at a time when Pushyamitra was firmly established on the imperial throne. The invasion mentioned by the *Yugapurāṇa* and Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya* may, therefore, be dated immediately before the usurpation of power by Pushyamitra, i.e. sometime about 186 B.C. For, the *Yugapurāṇa* also states that the Greeks could not stay in Madhyadeśa for long and that they had to retire due to a civil war in their own land—evidently referring to the internecine struggle between Eucratides and Demetrius.[20] There is no doubt that this civil war helped Pushyamitra to a great extent in his success against the Greeks and in acquiring popularity as a *Sanāpati* by which title he was known even after his accession to the imperial throne.

The leader of the Yavana invasion was very probably Demetrius who ruled from about 200 B.C. to 180 B.C.,[21] and who is probably also mentioned in the *Yugapurāṇa* as Dhamamīta. Demetrius's association with India is proved by classical writers.[22] Some coins of Indian fabric bearing this royal name are often believed to have been issued by Demetrius.[23]

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incidents suggests that he was actually citing the illustrations from his own experience.

19 *GBI*, p. 133.

20 Cf. *CHI*, pp. 446-47 and 544, and *EHI*[4], pp. 237-38.

21 For the leader of the Yavana invasion, see G. Macdonald, *CHI*, p. 444 ; R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient India*, p. 120 ; W. W. Tarn, *GBI*, p. 178 ; and D. C. Sircar, *AIU*, p. 106. For the date of Demetrius, see A. Cunningham, *CASE*, pp. 144 and 156, and A. N. Lahiri, *IHQ*, XXXIII, p. 47.

22 For references to Demetrius as "King of the Indians" by Justin, Boccaccio, Lawrence de Premierfait and Chaucer, see A. D. H. Bivar, *JRAS* 1950, pp. 7-13.

23 For bilingual coins of Demetrius Aniketos, see A. N. Lahiri, *CIC*, p. 109, Pl. XII. 10-11. According to Macdonald, these coins give evidence to Demetrius's conquest of India (see *CHI*, p 446) ; for contrary views see *GBI*, p. 77, *IG*, pp. 29-30 and *CIC*, pp. 264-265.

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Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* refers to a conflict between the forces of the Yavanas and those of Pushyamitra on the banks of the Sindhu.[24] But, as the Śuṅga army is stated to have been led by his grandson Vasumitra, the conflict seems to have taken place late in Pushyamitra's life, while the one referred to in the *Yugapurāṇa* probably took place before his accession to power. It is, however, possible that the Yavana forces, mentioned in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* were those of Menander who might have been a younger contemporary of Pushyamitra (c. 185 B.C. to 150 B.C.). The coins of Menander are found extensively —from Kabul in the west to Mathurā in the east—and he is mentioned in a Relic Casket inscription discovered at Bajaur.[25] His name is cherished in Indian tradition, notably in the *Milindapañha*, as a scholar and patron of Buddhism.

There is also an interesting reference in Strabo to the Greek penetration into Eastern India, corroborating the accounts of the Indian traditions. "Of the eastern parts of India, then", says Strabo, "there have become known to us all these parts which lie this side of the Hypanis of which an account has been added by those, who, after Alexander, advanced beyond the Hypanis, as far as the Ganges and Palibothra."[26] Strabo also alludes to some Greek incursions towards the western parts of India. "They (i.e. the chiefs of the Bactrians) got possession not only of Patalene (the Sindhu delta), but also of the kingdoms of Saraostos (Saurāshṭra), and Sigerdis (probably Sāgaradvīpa meaning Cutch), which constitute the remainder of the coast."[27] But virtual Greek rule in India did never extend beyond the Jamunā in the east. Greek expeditions towards Madhyadeśa or the Lower Indus Valley were in the nature of seasonal raids and had no permanent results. For, as Whitehead has observed, the Greeks coined money wherever they ruled,[28] and no remarkable hoard of Greek coins has yet been discovered either

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24 *Mālavikāgnimitra* (Act V, 14), p. 153.

25 For his coins see *CIC*, pp. 148-160, and for their distribution see *GBI*, p. 260 For the inscription, see *SI*, p. 102.

26 Strabo, *Geogr.* xv, 1. 27 (C 698) ; trans. by H. L. Jones, Vol. VII, p. 47.

27 Strabo, *Geogr.* xi, 516 ; trans. by McCrindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 100 f. ; cf. also *CHI*, p. 542.

28 *NC* 1940, p. 92.

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to the east of the Jamunā or in the Lower Indus Valley. The coins of Menander and Apollodotus circulating at Barygaza, as reported in the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, might have been brought there in course of trade.[29]

Moreover, the accession of Pushyamitra to the Maurya throne put a halt to the further advance of the Yavanas towards Madhyadeśa. From the *Divyāvadāna* story of the alleged persecution of Buddhism by Pushyamitra on the way of his march from Pāṭaliputra to Śākala in the Eastern Punjab,[30] it is evident that Pushyamitra freed the entire Madhyadeśa from foreign domination. The performance of two horse-sacrifices by him, as known from literary and epigraphic sources,[31] entitles him to some substantial achievements to his credit.

The empire of the Śuṅgas, however, was not so extensive as that of the Mauryas. And during the time of Pushyamitra's successors, their authority over the gradually diminishing empire was more vague than real. For, coins and inscriptions testify to the emergence of numerous independent states throughout Northern India during the time of the Later Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas. This shows that the spirit of local autonomy reasserted itself, thus launching India into one of the dark periods of its history.

The antiquity of the non-monarchical form of government in India has been discussed by various authorities and the existence of republican states before the rise of the Mauryas is now recognised.[32] Pāṇini, who is asssigned by scholars to about 500 B. C.,[33] mentions a number of republican states which he calls *Saṅghas* and seems to divide them into two classes: (1) the *āyudha-jīvin saṅghas*, and (2) other *saṅghas*.[34] The Buddhist texts also refer to a number of oligarchic clans which existed during the time of the Buddha.[35] Alexander's historians refer to the existence of many aristocratic and oligarchic states in the Punjab and the Sind region.[36] Kauṭilya devotes a whole

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29 Cf. Whitehead, *NC* 1940, p. 101 ; Narain, *IG*, pp. 68-69.
30 Cf. *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 433-34. For the story see Ch. I, Sec. 5 below.
31 See Ch. I, Sec. 8 below.
32 See Jayaswal, *HP*, pp. 30 ff. ; R. C. Majumdar, *CLAI*[3], pp. 215 ff.
33 See *AIU*, p. 269.
34 Cf. *HP*, p. 30 and *CLAI*[3], Ch. III, 2, pp. 221-23.
35 Cf. *CLAI*[3], Ch. III, 3, pp. 223-30.
36 Ibid., Ch. III, 4, pp. 245-49 ; *PHAI*[6], pp. 245 ff.

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chapter on the *Saṅghas* or corporations and divides them into two classes, viz. *vārtā-śastr-ōpajīvin* and *rāja-śabd-ōpajīvin*,[37] the former comparable to the *āyudha-jīvin* of Pāṇini. The list of such states as given by Kauṭilya shows that Northern India was studded with these democratic states during his time.

With the establishment of a strong centralised monarchy under the Mauryas, however, all the smaller states, particularly those around Magadha, seem to have been merged into the Maurya empire. But autonomous institutions, farther away from the capital survived, their continued existence being fostered by geographical factors. Such states, e. g. in the mountainous regions of the Punjab and the deserts of Rajasthan reasserted themselves with the weakening of the imperial hold under the successors of Pushyamitra.

Coins show that the states that grew up during this period flourished mainly in three regions—the Eastern Punjab, Eastern Rajasthan and the Gangetic valley. It was but natural that the states of the first two regions developed different forms of non-monarchical constitution, designated as *janapada* or *gaṇa* in their coin-legends, while the last-named region, where the rise of Magadhan imperialism made a clean sweep of all republican ideas, became the seat of several independent monarchical states. The history of Northern India from the fall of the Mauryas to the rise of the Guptas is but the history of these small states.

The downfall of the Magadhan empire was also the signal to a series of foreign invasions. The history of the indigenous states was greatly moulded by the establishment of foreign supremacy in North-Western India successively by the Bactrian Greeks, the Scythians, the Parthians and the Kushāṇas.

We have already referred to the Yavana invasion of Madhyadeśa and the subsequent retirement of the invaders during the reign of Pushyamitra. Later Indo-Greek princes were ruling in the north-western parts of India contemporaneously with the Later Śuṅgas and maintained diplomatic relations with them. The Besnagar Garuḍa pillar inscription[38] informs us that Heliodorus was sent from Taxila as an ambassador by the

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37 See Kangle, *The Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, Ch. XI, 4-5 (p. 245).

38 *SI*, p. 90.

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Indo-Greek ruler Antialcidas to the court of Bhāgabhadra of Vidiśā, who appears to have belonged to the Śuṅga family.

Numismatic and epigraphic evidences show that Greek rule in North-Western India was superseded by that of the Scythians. The Scythian invaders of India are also mentioned in the *Yugapurāṇa.*[39] The names of the Śaka rulers, as known from coins and inscriptions, show a strong admixture of Iranian, Parthian and Scythian elements, which indicate that the Śakas, before their entry into India, lived for a long time in Iran under Parthian suzerainty and imbibed strong Irano-Parthian influence.

The possible reference to *Sakastāna* in the Mathurā lion capital inscription[40], coupled with the description of the Indus delta as "Indo-Scythia" in the *Periplus*, indicates the way through which the Śakas entered India. It was from their base in Indo-Scythia that the Śakas advanced in two directions—northwards up the Indus Valley and eastwards towards Ujjayinī and Mathurā.

The earliest Śaka king whose name is known from coins and inscriptions is Maues. His coin-types, imitated from those of some Yavana princes show how the dominions of Kapiśā and of Gandhāra (which included both Taxila and Pushkalāvatī) passed from the sway of the Yavanas to that of the Śakas.[41] The Taxila copper plate inscription of Moga of the year 78[42] partially corroborates it. But the credit of terminating Greek rule from the Eastern Punjab must be due to Azes I who is known to have restruck the coins of Hippostratus and Apollodotus II as also to have continued the type "Athena Promachos", characteristic of Menander's successors in the said area.[43] Coins and inscriptions bearing the names of the Śaka satraps of the Mathurā region show that the Śakas extended their sway as far as the Jamunā in the east by ousting the indigenous ruling families of Mathurā and the adjoining areas.

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39 Cf. *JBORS*, XIV, p. 404.

40 *SI*, p. 112.

41 Cf. *CHI*, pp. 558-59, 570.

42 Sircar, *SI*, p. 120. There is some controversy over the era in which the inscription is dated. Rapson (*CHI*, p. 570) and Tarn (*GBI*, p. 501) date it about 72 B.C. and 77 B.C. respectively, while Sircar dates it about 21 A.D.

43 Cf. *CHI*, pp. 554, 571-72.

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The association of the name of Azes with the era of 58 B.C. in several inscriptions from N. W. India[44] indicates that, by the middle of the first century B.C., the Śakas were in possession of that region. Mathurā was probably occupied by them sometime later—towards the close of the first century B.C. or the beginning of the first century A.D.[45]

Śaka rule in North-Western India was supplanted by that of the Parthians during the first quarter of the first century A.D. This is particularly clear from the coins of the *Strategos* Aśpavarman. While his coin-types (which were a continuation of those of the Śakas) indicate that he succeeded to their dominions,[46] his joint-coins, first with Azes II and then with Gondophares[47], prove that the transfer of power was from the Śakas to the Parthians. If the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of the year 103—which corresponds to the 26th regnal year of Gondophares[48]—be dated in the era of 58 B.C., then Gondophares' rule in North-Western India must have begun by 19 A.D. This date is also consistent with the tradition of a Parthian named Phraotes ruling at Taxila in 43-44 A.D., probably as governor of Gondophares.[49] Gondophares is again identified with the king Gudnafar of the Christian tradition who is said to have been converted, along with his brother Gad, by the apostle St. Thomas and therefore lived in the first century A.D.[50] The contemporaneity of king Gudnafar and Gondophares may support this identification. Gondophares, as his name implies, was undoubtedly of Parthian extraction.[51]

The Parthian provinces of north-western India were probably ruled over by military governors called *strategoi* and the joint-coins of these *strategoi* indicate the succession of their suzerains. The allegiance of these governors to their suzerains was

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44 Kalawān copper-plate inscription, Year 134 (*SI*, p. 127), Taxila silver-scroll inscription of a Kushāṇa king, Year 136 (ibid., p. 129).

45 For the date of Śaka occupation of Mathurā see Ch. VI, Sec. 2 below.

46 Cf. *CHI*, p. 577.

47 Cf. *PMC*, p. 130, Pl. XII. 317 (Azes and Aśpavarman) and p. 150, Pl. XV. 35 (Gondophares and Aśpavarman).

48 *SI*, p. 121.

49 *PHAI*[6], p. 451.

50 Ibid., p. 452.

51 Cf. his monolingual Attic drachm (Gardner, *BMC*, Pl. XXXII. 10) on which the royal bust has remarkable Parthian affinity.

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becoming very nominal even towards the latter part of the reign of Gondophares,[52] and his weak successors could not hold their dominions very long.

The Taxila hoard of twenty-one small silver coins,[53] containing issues of two Parthian governors, and of Pacores and Wema Kadphises illustrates the passing away of the Gandhāra region from the Parthian to the Kushāṇa supremacy.[54] The Panjtār inscription of the year 122[55] mentioning a Kushāṇa, and the Taxila silver scroll inscription of the year 136[56] mentioning one *Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra* Kushāṇa—if referable to the era of 58 B.C.—prove that by A.D. 65, Kushāṇa chiefs were ruling in the Peshawar region and that by 78 A.D., Kushāṇa supremacy was firmly established in the Taxila region so as to enable the Kushāṇa ruler to assume the supreme title of *Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra.*

But though Śaka-Parthian suzerainty ended in North-Western India, the rule of the Śaka satraps did not end and they continued to play a part in Indian politics under the suzerainty of the Kushāṇas. That the Lower Indus Valley continued to be ruled over by the Parthian chiefs in the first century A.D. is proved by the *Periplus* which describes them as turbulent Parthian princes "who are constantly driving each other out".[57] The Nasik and Junagarh inscriptions[58] of the Western Satraps of the Mālava-Saurāshṭra region show that they extended their sway upto the Godāvarī in the south at the cost of the Śātavāhanas in the second century A.D. The Śaka era derived its name, according to Rapson, from its long use by the Śaka satraps for about two centuries and not because its founder was a Śaka.[59]

Kushāṇa inscriptions are found at Mathurā[60], Kosam[61],

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52 Cf. *CHI*, p. 580.
53 *ASR* 1912-13, pp. 49-51.
54 Cf. *CHI*, p. 581.
55 *SI*, p. 126.
56 Ibid., p. 129.
57 Cf. *CHI*, p. 585.
58 *SI*, pp. 160 and 169.
59 *CHI*, p. 585.
60 *SI*, Nos. 49, 50, 52, 54 and 57.
61 Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, pp. 210 ff., and XXXI, p. 175; also *PHAI*[6], p. 473, n. 6.

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Sārnāth[62] and Set-Mahet[63] in the east, Sañchī[64] in the south, Sūī Vihār[65] near the Bahawalpur frontier, Māṇikiāla[66] in Rawalpindi, and Wardak[67] near Kabul and Surkh-Kotal[67a] near Kandahar in Afghanistan in the west. Kushāṇa coins are found upto the Ghazipur and Gorakhpur regions, at Vaiśālī, in the Buxar hoard, and in the Kumrāhār excavations of 1912-13.[68] Discovery of Kushāṇa coins in Bengal and Orissa may not indicate subjugation of those territories; but the tradition of the Chinese and Tibetan writers that Kaṇishka led successful expeditions against Sāketa and Pāṭaliputra[69] coupled with the discovery of his coins in the Bihar region—which are of copper and signify long use—as well as the use of the Śaka era in the Kailvan inscription of year 108[70] show that his dominions might have included Magadha proper. According to the Chinese tradition, Kipin or Kapiśā was ruled by the Kushāṇas and, as the last Buddhist council is said to have been summoned by Kaṇishka in Kashmir, that country was most probably included within Kaṇishka's empire.[71] The Kashmir chronicle refers to the rule of Hushka, Jhushka and Kaṇishka who are apparently Kushāṇas. Thus, the Kushāṇa empire, at its widest, extended from parts of Afghanistan, Kapiśā, Gandhāra and Kashmir in the north-west to Varanasi or even Pāṭaliputra in the east, including probably Rajasthan, Sind, Kathiawar and Central India. The Kushāṇa empire, therefore, engulfed a great portion of Northern India and the independent career of most of the indigenous states of the Punjab, Rajasthan and Madhyadeśa ceased.

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62 *SI*, Nos. 37, 38 and 39.

63 Ibid., Nos. 44 and 45.

64 Ibid., No. 48.

65 Ibid., No. 41.

66 Ibid., No. 43.

67 Ibid., No. 55.

67a *JA, BSOS* 1960, pp. 48 ff.; *Ind. Studies Past and Present*, 1964, pp. 273 f.

68 *PHAI*[6], p. 473; *JNSI*, XII, pp. 121 ff., and XIII, pp. 144 ff.

69 *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 142; *Ind. Ant.*, XXXII, p. 382; *CII*, II, pp. lxxii and lxxv; Cf. *PHAI*[6], p. 473, and n. 5.

70 *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 229 ff.

71 For the extent of Kaṇishka's dominions see *PHAI*[6], pp. 473 ff. and *AIU*, pp. 141 f.

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Kaṇishka I, during whose reign the Kushāṇa empire reached the zenith of its power, was the greatest ruler of the dynasty. But from the time of Vāsudeva (Years 67-98, A.D. 145-176), the empire was on the decline. The paucity of his coins and inscriptions and their comparatively limited distribution indicate the diminished area of his empire. Probably about this time, the Śaka *kshatrapas* and *mahākshatrapas* who were the actual governors of the Kushāṇa dominions, became virtually independent. About the middle of the second century A.D., the dominions of the Great Satrap Rudradāman included the Lower Indus Valley and he was ruling virtually independently.[72] The Gangetic Valley might have remained under the sphere of Kushāṇa influence, though not under the direct control of the Kushāṇas, down to Vāsudeva's reign.

Though Kushāṇa power decayed in the Gangetic Valley from the time of Vāsudeva, Kushāṇa supremacy lingered sometime more in North-Western India. It is known from Chinese sources that, upto about the middle of the third century A. D., the Kushāṇa empire embraced the Punjab, the former N.-W. Frontier Province and Afghanistan.[73] The Paikuli inscription of the Sassanians and some Sassanian coins probably indicate subsequent Sassanian suzerainty in parts of Indo-Scythia and N.-W. India.[74] The *Daivaputra-Śāhi-Śāhānuśāhi*, who made obeisance to Samudragupta was no doubt the successor of the Great Kushāṇas in the Punjab region. He has been identified by V.A. Smith with Grumbates.[75]

SOURCES

The sources of history for the period from the fall of the Mauryas to the rise of the Guptas are not copious. They may be classified into two broad divisions, viz. literary and archaeological.

I Literary Sources[76]

The literary texts are of various categories, and their value

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72 The Junagarh inscription of Rudradāman I, Year 72 (=150 A D.) testifies to it : see *SI*, p. 169.

73 *AIU*, p. 152.

74 Ibid., pp. 152-53.

75 *JRAS* 1897, p. 32.

76 Respective references to literary texts are given in their proper places.

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depends upon the nature of the texts. They may be classified under the following heads :—

(a) Brahmanical works like the Epics and the Purāṇas

The *Mahābhārata* mentions a number of tribes, viz. the Mālavas, Śibis, Rājanyas, Andhaka-Vṛishṇis, Audumbaras, Trigartas, Vaiyāmakas, Kulūtas and Kulindas or Kuṇindas, and several kingdoms like Pañchāla and Kauśāmbī. The *Harivaṁśa* refers to 'the *audbhijja senānī* of the Kāśyapa lineage', who restored the horse-sacrifice in the Kali Age, referring probably to Pushyamitra. The lists of the dynasties of the Kali Age, contained in the Purāṇas, constitute our main source of information about several dynasties, such as the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas. Besides, they refer to the Nāga houses of several centres, the Meghas of [South] Kośala, i.e. the Maghas of Kauśāmbī, and several other tribes.

But much of the value of the information gathered from the above texts are impaired by textual corruptions and occasional interpolations. Most of them, in their present form, were written down at a late date, so that the authenticity of their information is very doubtful. Nevertheless, we cannot reject their evidence wholesale, because much of them are undoubtedly old and valuable. As H. C. Raychaudhuri has pointed out, "the epigraphic or numismatic records of the *Śātavāhanas*, *Ābhīras*, *Vākāṭakas*, *Nāgas*, *Guptas* and many other dynasties fully bear out the observation of Dr. Smith that 'modern European writers have been inclined to disparage unduly the authority of the *Purāṇic* lists, but closer study finds in them much genuine and valuable historical tradition'."[77] When corroborated by different literary texts or by archaeological evidences, they are of great help to us.

(b) Brahmanical works to which an approximate date can be assigned, e.g. the grammatical works of Pāṇini (about 500 B.C.), Patañjali (second century B.C.), *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya (assignable to the period, third century B.C. to 100 A.D.).[78] Information gathered from these sources, although very meagre, are of greater value than the evidences of the

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77 *PHAI*[6], pp. 6-7.

78 For the date of Pāṇini, see *AIU*, p. 269; for Patañjali, see p. 5 above; and for Kauṭilya see *PHAI*[6], p. 9.

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Epics and the Purāṇas, as such information comes from persons assignable to a known epoch.

Pāṇini mentions a number of republican states, termed as *saṅghas*, which he seems to divide into two classes, as mentioned above. Patañjali's references to the Yavana invasion of Sāketa and Madhyamikā and the [horse-]sacrifice of Pushyamitra, in which he acted as a priest, have contributed much in determining the dates of the Yavana invasion of Madhyadeśa and Pushyamitra's accession to power. He also refers to several important cities and towns of the second century B.C. Kauṭilya devotes a whole chapter (Ch. XI) to the discussion of republican states (*saṅgha-vṛittam*) which, as already noted, he divided into two groups.

(c) The Buddhist and Jaina texts.—The evidence of the Buddhist *Jātakas* referring to a number of republican tribes are more valuable than that of the *Divyāvadāna* which records the story of the persecution of Buddhism by Pushyamitra. Of the Jaina sources, the *Therāvalī* of Merutuṅga refers to Pushyamitra and gives the chronology of his dynasty. But they cannot be utilised without other corroborative evidence.

(d) Other literary works like the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa, *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa, *Mālatīmādhava* of Bhavabhūti and *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira.—Although information gathered from these works are derived from incidental references, they are of some value to us.

The *Mālavikāgnimitra* gives us information about Pushyamitra's horse-sacrifice, the conflict of Pushyamitra's forces with the Yavanas on the bank of the Sindhu and Agnimitra's rule at Vidiśā as a viceroy of Pushyamitra. Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* corroborates the Puranic accounts as to the rise of Pushyamitra, the murder of the last Śuṅga monarch by Vasudeva Kāṇva and the rule of the Nāga king Nāgasena at Padmāvatī. The *Mālatīmādhava*, the scene of which is laid in the city of Padmāvatī, helps us in identifying the Nāga capital. From the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, we can roughly locate some of the important tribes of the period.

(e) Last of all, we may refer to the foreign works of the Classical writers. Of them, Alexander's historians speak of a number of monarchical and republican states in North-Western India on the eve of Alexander's invasion, some of

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which maintained their existence even upto our period. The description of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (first century A.D.)[78a] and of Ptolemy (second century A.D.) are also sometimes helpful.

II Archaeological Sources

Archaeological sources are undoubtedly more important than literary evidence. They consist of epigraphical, numismatic and monumental evidences.

(a) *Inscriptions*[79] supply the most valuable archaeological evidence, though they are a few in number.

The only inscription referring to Pushyamitra is the Ayodhyā inscription of Dhanadeva. The two Besnagar Garuḍa pillar inscriptions refer to Bhāgabhadra and Bhāgavata, who are supposed to be Later Śuṅga princes, of whom the latter is also mentioned in the Barli fragmentary inscription. The dynastic name Śuṅga is mentioned in the Bhārhut inscription of the Śuṅga age. Some later rulers of the Magadha region with *mitra*-ending names are known from inscriptions, e. g. Indrāgnimitra and Brahmamitra from the Bodh-Gayā inscriptions, Bṛihaspatimitra from the Hāthigumphā inscription, and Ārya-Viśākhamitra from the Kailvan inscription.

Of the local dynasties of Madhyadeśa, the Ayodhyā line of Dhanadeva is mentioned in his Ayodhyā inscription. The Sārnāth inscription refers to king Aśvaghosha of the Kauśāmbī region. The Pabhosā inscription mentions Bṛihaspatimitra and Ūdāka, two kings of Kauśāmbī. From several Kauśāmbī records we know the names of some Mitra rulers of that area, viz. Jyeshṭhamitra, Rājamitra, Śivamitra and Varuṇamitra. Two other Mitra rulers of the same area, viz. Dāmamitra and Devīmitra are also known from the Musānagar brick inscriptions. The line of the Magha rulers of the Rewa-Kauśāmbī region are known mainly from their dated records found at Giñjā, Bāndhogarh and Kauśāmbī. A line of Ahichchhatrā rulers is mentioned in the Pabhosā inscriptions, while Dhruvamitra, another ruler of that region, is referred to in a Rāmnagar inscription. Three inscriptions from Ganeshrā and Mathurā speak of kings Gomitra, Śūryamitra and Vishṇumitra of the

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78a For assigning the *Periplus* to the 3rd century, see *IHQ*, XXXVIII, pp. 89 ff.

79 A list of relevant inscriptions is given in the Appendix below.

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Mathurā area, while the Morā brick inscription of queen Yaśamatā refers to another king of that area. Two local kings, viz. Vīrasena and Śīlāvarman, are known from the Jānkhāt and Jagatgrām inscriptions respectively.

Of the tribal states of the Punjab region, only the Yaudheyas are mentioned in inscriptions. The Bijayagarh inscription speaks of a Yaudheya *Mahārāja Mahāsenāpati*, while the Junāgarh inscription of Rudradāman refers to the military power of the Yaudheyas who are also mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta as one of the border tribes paying homage to him.

Amongst the Rajasthan tribes, the Ārjunāyanas and Mālavas are mentioned in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta along with the Yaudheyas. The conflict of the Mālavas with the Śakas is referred to in a Nasik inscription of Nahapāna's time. The Nāndsā yūpa inscription records the achievement of a Mālava chief and gives the names of his forefathers. The Maukharis of Baḍvā are known only from their dated records found in that place. The Shorkot inscription of Year 83 locates the site of Śibipura which may have been the habitat of the Śibis during the time of Alexander's invasion. The Barli inscription refers to an inhabitant of Madhyamikā, the later capilal of the Śibis, while a Chitorgarh inscription helps us to locate Madhyamikā, mentioned as Madhyamā. The Ghoshuṇḍī-Hāthībāḍā inscriptions speak of Sarvatāta, a local king of the Nāgarī region.

Some Vākāṭaka charters inform us that king Bhavanāga belonged to the Bhāraśiva family, which probably indicates that the Bhāraśivas were of Nāga extraction. The Pawaya Maṇibhadra image inscription refers to the Nāga king Śivanandī and also marks the site of the Nāga capital Padmāvatī. Another Nāga king named Maheśvaranāga is known from a Lahore record. The names of some of the Āryāvarta kings defeated by Samudragupta, as known from his Allahabad pillar inscription, indicate that they were probably of Nāga lineage.

(b) *Coins*[79a] constitute the main source of our information about the history of the local and tribal states of this period.

79a See the plates illustrating some important coins at the end of this book.

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When studied critically, coins reveal important facts, often unknown from other sources.

The study of coins may be made from various aspects. First of all, the legends on the coins should be studied in their proper perspective since they are really "a class of inscriptions on metal."[80] They often supply us with the names of the issuing authorities as well as the nature of the constitution of the states concerned, such as *janapada* or *gaṇa*. Again, numismatic epigraphy, although more rigid than the writing on stones, sometimes gives us a valuable clue regarding the chronology of the issuers of the coins.

Secondly, the objective study of the coins themselves, i.e. the technique of their manufacture, their shape, metal and types, also may yield valuable clues to their chronology. For, it is generally noticed that in the course of evolution and due to foreign influence, later coins became finer in fabric and shape than the earlier ones. We may, therefore, place the issuers of the cast pieces of rude fabric and of square shape earlier than the rulers issuing struck coins of finer execution and of round shape. The degree of foreign influence noticed in the shape, fabric, weight-standard, devices and the use of silver as a coining metal also gives us valuable clue to the dates of the coins concerned. The inter-relation of coin-types suggests proximity of time and/or place amongst rulers or dynasties.

Lastly, a close study of the provenance of coins may be of great help to us in determining the habitat of a tribe. Thus, the discovery of the coins with the legend, *Majhamikāya Śibi-janapadasa* from Tambāvatī Nāgarī near Chitor enabled us to locate the site of Madhyamikā, the later capital of the Śibis. Likewise, the discovery of the coins with the legend *Kosa[m]bi* from modern Kosam near Allahabad removed doubts as to the identification of Kauśāmbī with Kosam. Cunningham's locations of the habitats of various tribes from the provenance of their coins, which are generally in copper and consequently not likely to have travelled far, are still, therefore, to be generally accepted.

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80 *OHI*, p. xvii.

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(c) *Monumental and other Archaeological Evidences.* The study of structural remains as well as various objects of art, unearthed from archaeological excavations, also yields valuable results. "Careful registration of the stratification of the ruins on ancient sites, that is to say, of the exact order in which the remains of one period follow those of another, often gives valuable proof of date."[81] A comparative study of various objects of art and architecture enables us to draw in outline the chronological sequence of the rulers during whose times they were made.

Archaeological excavations, conducted in various ancient sites, have opened up a rich store of information about the history and culture of our past. They have helped us to identify many ancient sites and to supplement and corroborate information gathered from other sources.

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81 Ibid.

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PART I

FALL OF THE MAGADHAN EMPIRE

CHAPTER I

PUSHYAMITRA AND CONNECTED PROBLEMS

1. Sources

For Pushyamitra's reign, we have mainly to depend on literary sources. None of the known coins can be definitely attributed to him while the only known epigraphical notice is in the Ayodhyā inscription of Dhanadeva[1], in which Pushyamitra is called a *senāpati* and 'the performer of two horse-sacrifices' (*dvir = aśvamedha-yājin*). This inscription also gives us the correct form of the name of the Maurya general, which is Pushyamitra and not Pushpamitra as found in some of the literary texts.

Of the literary works, the Purāṇas are our chief source of information. They are supplemented and in some cases corroborated by the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa. Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* also helps us in deducing a few historical facts of Pushyamitra's time. The grammarian Patañjali, in his commentary on Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī* gives us a few glimpses of Pushyamitra and his time. The concluding pages of Book XXIX of the *Divyāvadāna* record the tradition about Pushyamitra's alleged persecution of Buddhism. Merutuṅga, a Jaina author of the 14th century, also refers to Pushyamitra.

2. How Pushyamitra came to power

The Purāṇas contain a statement about the rise of Pushyamitra. Thus the *Matsyapurāṇa*[2] says :

"Pushyamitras = tu senānīr = uddhṛitya sa Bṛihadratham |
Karishyati sa vai rājyaṁ shaṭtriṁśati samā nṛipaḥ ||"

[Translation : Pushyamitra the commander-in-chief, will uproot Bṛihadratha and rule for 36 years.]

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1 *SI*, p. 96.

2 *DKA*, p. 31 and n. 6 (Text), p. 70 (Trans.) ; *karishyati sa* occurs only in *j Matsya* MS in place of *kārayishyati* which occurs in other MSS.

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The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*[3] adds a few more details and says :

"Hatvā Bṛihadrathaṁ Mauryaṁ tasya senāpatiḥ kalau ।
Pushpamitras=tu Śuṅg-āhvaḥ svayaṁ rājyaṁ karishyati ॥"

[Translation : Having killed Maurya Bṛihadratha, his commander-in-chief Pushpamitra, styled Śuṅga, will himself rule as king in the Kali age.]

It is thus clear that Pushyamitra Śuṅga, the Maurya general, overthrew his master Bṛihadratha and usurped the latter's powers. But the Purāṇas do not state the circumstances under which such an ignoble act on the part of Pushyamitra was possible. For a better understanding of the situation, we have to look to other sources and the *Yugapurāṇa* throws some welcome light on this point. As we have already seen in the Introduction, the former text speaks of a Greek invasion of Madhyadeśa, which seems to have taken place during the reign of Bṛihadratha, when Pushyamitra was his general. This invasion revealed the weakness of the Maurya king who was unable to protect his subjects therefrom, and thereby gave his powerful general an opportunity to kill his master and seize powers. The Greek invasion is referred to in the *Yugapurāṇa* as follows[4] :

1 "Tataḥ Sāketaṁ=ākramya Pañchālān=Mathurāṁ tathā ।
2 Yavanā dushṭa-vikrāntāḥ prāpsyanti Kusumadhvajam ॥
3 Tataḥ Pushpapure prāpte kardame prathite hite ।
4 ākulā vishayāḥ sarve bhavishyanti na saṁśayaḥ ॥
5 śastra-dru(bhū)ma-mahāyuddhaṁ tad=bhavishyati paśchimam ॥

... ...

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3 *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, Part 12, p. 6 (Text) ; the *Vishṇupurāṇa* also says : *tataḥ Pushpamitraḥ senāpatiḥ svāminaṁ hatvā rājyaṁ karishyati* (*DKA*, p. 31, n. 1).

4 Five MSS of the *Yugapurāṇa* are known : (1) MS of H. Kern (now lost) : cf. the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira, Bib. Ind.*, 1864-65, Introduction, pp. 32-40 ; (2) MS of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta : cf. *JBORS*, XIV, pp. 400 ff., notes ; (3) MS of Benares Sanskrit College : cf. ibid. ; (4) MS of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris : cf. *JBORS*, XV, pp. 129 ff. ; and (5) MS of D. R. Mankad : cf. *JUPHS*, XX, pp. 32 ff. The text and translation of the lines quoted here are taken from Dr D. C. Sircar's paper, "The Account of the Yavanas in the Yugapurāṇa", *JRAS* 1963, pp. 7-20. This seems to be the most exhaustive and critical study of the question.

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6 Dhamamīta-tayā vṛiddhā janaṁ bhoksha(kshya)nti
nirbhayāḥ ।
7 Yavanā(ḥ*) kshāpayishyanti Nagare pañcha
pārthivā(n*) ॥
8 Madhyadeśe na sthāsyanti Yavanā yuddha-durmadāḥ ।
9 teshām = anonya-saṁbhāvād = bhavishyati na saṁśayaḥ ॥
10 ātma-chakr = otthitaṁ ghoraṁ yuddhaṁ parama-
dāruṇam ॥
11 Tato yuga-vaśāt = teshāṁ Yavanānāṁ parikshaye ।
12 Sa(Sā)kete sapta rājāno bhavishyanti mahā-balāḥ ॥"

[Translation : Then, having occupied [the city of] Sāketa, [the country of] Pañchāla and [the city of] Mathurā[5], the viciously valiant Yavanas will reach (or seize) Kusumadhvaja. Then, when the stretched out mud (i.e., mud-wall) at Pushpapura will be reached (or occupied), all the provinces [of the Maurya empire having its capital at Pushpapura] will be undoubtedly in [complete] disorder. Then, there will be subsequently a great war (or battle) in which a large number of weapons will be used.—Prospering under the protection of Dhamamīta (Demetrius)[6], the Yavanas will eat up (i.e. oppress) the people [and] will burn [alive] five rulers at Nagara (i.e. Pāṭaliputra). The Yavanas, fierce in fight, will not stay in Madhyadeśa. As a result of strong mutual [ill] feelings [developing] amongst them there will no doubt be an extremely terrible [and] fierce war arising in their own circle (i.e. realm). Then, after the disappearance of the said Yavanas resulting under the [evil] influence of the [Kali] age, there will be seven mighty kings at Sāketa.]

From the above account it is apparent that the Yavanas not only captured Pāṭaliputra but actually occupied it after reducing some important localities of the Maurya empire, viz. the Pañchāla country, Mathurā and Sāketa. The capital being occupied by the invaders, was cut off from the rest of the

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5 We have here adopted the reading *Pañchālān Mathurāṁ* of Kern's MS in place of *Pañchālā Māthurā* of other MSS, which makes the Pañchālas and Māthuras joint invaders of Sāketa with the Yavanas. For, apart from being grammatically incorrect, the latter reading involves some other defects, as pointed out by Dr Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

6 Jayaswal (*JBORS*, XIV, pp. 417 f.), Tarn (*GBI*, pp. 454-55) and Sircar (*op. cit.* p. 13) believe that *Dhamamita* or *Dharmamita* is the Indianised form of the name of Demetrius, the supposed leader of the Yavana invasion.

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country, and all the provinces were in complete disorder. Bṛihadratha, the feeble representative of the Maurya house, seems to have taken refuge in a safer place and continued to carry on the struggle with the Greeks for sometime. This seems to be suggested by the reference to *Mahāyuddha* in 1. 5 and also to the oppression perpetrated by the invaders on the people in 11. 6-7.

Fortunately for India, the Yavana occupation of Madhyadeśa was not of long duration. The invaders had to leave the country to fight a fierce battle in their own realm (i. e. Bactria). This apparently refers to the struggle between Eucratides and Demetrius[7], as a result of which most of the Greek garrisons that were in occupation of strategic points in India appear to have been withdrawn.

If we read Bāṇa's account of the murder of Bṛihadratha against the above background, the circumstances leading to the rise of Pushyamitra become more intelligible. The *Harshacharita* refers to the incident in the following words[8] :

"Pratijñā-durbalaṁ cha bala-darśana-vyapadeśa-darśit = āśesha-sainyaḥ senānīr = anāryo Mauryaṁ Bṛihadrathaṁ pipesha Pushpamitraḥ svāminam".

Bühler translates the passage as follows : "And reviewing the whole army under the pretext of showing him his forces, the mean general Pushpamitra crushed his master Bṛihadratha, the Maurya, who was weak of purpose."

The term *pratijñā-durbala*, as it occurs in some MSS[9] is quite significant. Bühler renders it as 'weak in purpose', while Smith translates it as 'one who is weak in keeping his coronation oath.'[10] Dr Sircar's translation, viz. 'one who is [too] weak to keep his promise' is more literal and suitable to the context,

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7 Cf. *CHI*, pp. 446-47, and *EHI*[4], pp. 237-38.

8 Cf. Bühler, *Ind. Ant.*, II, p. 363 (Text and Trans.).

9 *Pratijñā*° occurs in the MS consulted by Bühler ; *prajñā*° is the reading in most of the other MSS. Cf. *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa (with commentary of Raṅganātha) —Ed. by S. K. Pillai, Trivandrum, 1958, p. 301. It seems, as suggested by Dr Sircar (*op. cit.*, pp. 18-19), that the commentators who had apparently no knowledge of the nature of Bṛihadratha's *pratijñā* substituted it for *prajñā* which would be easily intelligible to the readers.

10 *EHI*[4], p. 208, n. 1.

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as we shall see below. The word *bala* here signifies 'strength', not 'forces', as put by Bühler.

The allusion to the parading of a huge army presupposes the existence of an enemy in the background[11] and the *Yugapurāṇa* account of the Greek occupation of Pāṭaliputra reveals the identity of the enemy. It is apparently with regard to this enemy that Bṛihadratha seems to have made a promise (*pratijñā*)—to drive him away from the country—but could not keep it afterwards, as he was considered to be too formidable from the result of the *mahā-yuddha* alluded to in the *Yugapurāṇa* (1.5). Thus, the *Pratijñā-durbala* king, who could not protect his subjects from the oppression of the invaders, appears to have lost respect of the people, including the military personnel. At this critical moment, Pushyamitra probably tried to persuade the king to fight the enemy, by demonstrating the strength of his forces in a grand military parade.

In the above context, we may render Bāṇa's passage in the following words :

"And, as he was parading the entire [Maurya] army [before Bṛihadratha] on the pretext of exhibiting its strength [in order to convince the king of the prowess of his forces], the ignoble general Pushpamitra crushed his master Bṛihadratha, the Maurya, who was [too] weak to keep his promise [to fight or repulse the Yavanas or to save or rescue his subjects from the oppression of the Yavanas]."[12]

H. P. Sastri, however, gave a different colour to the picture. According to him, Pushyamitra returned to Pāṭaliputra *after a successful campaign* against the Greeks, 'who advanced year after year to the very heart of the Maurya empire.' He was given a fitting reception *by King Bṛihadratha* at a camp outside the city where a review was held of a large army. In the midst of the festivities, Bṛihadratha was killed by an arrow and thus Pushyamitra became the master of the situation. He remained with the army at Pāṭaliputra and made his son king of Vidiśā.[13]

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11 The expression *bala-darśana-vyapadeśa-darśit=āśesha-sainyaḥ* appears to be explicit enough to indicate that the parade of the huge Maurya army was held for some specific purpose and not as an ordinary peace-time routine work. It is quite likely that it was done with a view to exhibit the inherent might and strength of the Maurya army against the background of a threatened or actual invasion.

12 D. C. Sircar's translation, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.

13 *JASB* 1910, p. 260. Italics are ours.

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Sastri's reconstruction of the course of events, however, ignores some broad points that can be deduced from the above-quoted passage of Bāṇa. Firstly, the military parade was evidently *not arranged by Bṛihadratha* 'as a fitting reception' to Pushyamitra, but by the latter in order to exhibit the strength of his forces (*bala-darśana-vyapadeśa*) to the former. Secondly, the army parade is *not* likely to have been held *after a successful campaign* against the Greeks. Such an act on the part of Pushyamitra appears to have been necessary only because the Greeks were still holding the capital, and *not defeated*, as conjectured by Sastri.

The turn of events discussed above immensely favoured Pushyamitra. In the first place, the Greek invasion which shook the very foundation of the Maurya empire gave him the opportunity to make a bid for power by liquidating Bṛihadratha who proved himself a failure. Then, the civil war amongst the Greeks drew most of their soldiers from all parts of Madhyadeśa to the north-west and made it easier for Pushyamitra to cope with the retreating enemy and consolidate his power. Ultimately, as we shall see, he was successful in freeing from Yavana domination the whole of Madhyadeśa and eastern Uttarāpatha as far as Śākala in the north-west. The Indo-Greek rule was henceforth confined to the north-western parts of India and it was probably sometime after the death of Pushyamitra that Menander recovered Śākala and made it his capital, as known from the *Milindapañha*.

3. Pushyamitra did not adopt the Royal Title

It is curious that Pushyamitra does not appear to have adopted any royal title after the usurpation of the Maurya throne. The Purāṇas say that he ruled for 36 years, but refer to him as a *senānī*. Kālidāsa, in his *Mālavikāgnimitra*, calls his son Agnimitra a *rājan*, but gives Pushyamitra the epithet of *senāpati*. Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* also styles him only a *senānī*. Even Dhanadeva, the sixth descendant of Pushyamitra, though referring to the latter as 'a performer of two horse-sacrifices' (*dvir = aśvamedha-yājin*), confers on him no greater title than *senāpati*. It is only in the *Divyāvadāna* that Pushyamitra is styled a *rājan*.[14]

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14 *Divyāvadāna*, p. 434.

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The Buddhist writer Tāranātha also refers to him as the 'Brāhmaṇa king'.[15] And it is apparent from Patañjali's reference to *Pushyamitra-sabhā* along with *Chandragupta-sabhā*[16] as illustrations of *samāsa* between the name of a king and his court that Pushyamitra actually ruled as a king. It is also clear that he could not have performed two horse-sacrifices unless he was a king.

Wilson thought that, although Pushyamitra dispossessed his master of his crown, he refrained from appropriating it to himself, and remained content with his military status, whilst he invested his son with the title of king, and performed the horse-sacrifice on his behalf.[17] This is not correct, for it is evident from the *Mālavikāgnimitra* that Pushyamitra celebrated the *Aśvamedha-yajña* for himself.[18]

In most of the MSS of the *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* Purāṇas the expression *kārayishyati vai rājyaṁ* occurs with reference to Pushyamitra. From this, Jayaswal comes to the conclusion that Pushyamitra did not rule himself but through others (*kārayishyati*), thus pretending to establish a 'kingless constitutional government' (*vairājya*), and that is why Pushyamitra styled himself not a *rājan* but a *senāpati* only.[19] But the above Puranic passage has variant readings and nothing can be built on it. For, the *j Matsya*, *Vishṇu* and *Bhāgavata* Purāṇas read *karishyati* in place of *kārayishyati*.[20]

R. C. Majumdar suggests that, in the last days of the Maurya empire, Pushyamitra was the *de facto*, though not the *de jure*, king of Magadha. In his opinion, Pushyamitra and his sons ruled the different provinces of the empire, owing a nominal allegiance to the Maurya king. Even during Bṛihadratha's time, he made his son a 'king' in Vidiśā while he himself retained the title of *senāpati* till, in an opportune moment, he killed his

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15 Schiefner, Tāranātha's *Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, Ch XVI (quoted by Jayaswal, *JBORS*, IV, p. 258).

16 *The Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāshya of Patañjali*, Vol. I, p. 177 (on Pāṇini, I, 1, 68, vār. 7).

17 H. H. Wilson, *The Theatre of the Hindus*, II, pp. 347-48 and 353.

18 *Mālavikāgnimitra* (Act V, 15), p. 153.

19 *JBORS*, XV, pp. 583-84.

20 For *j Matsya*, see Pargiter, *DKA*, p. 31, n. 6; for *Vishṇu*, see ibid., n. 1; for *Bhāgavata*, see *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, ed. by Swami Dhananjaya Das, Bk. 12, p. 6. The last text expressly states: *Pushpamitras=tu Śuṅgāhvaḥ svayaṁ rājyaṁ karishyati.*

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master, and, after celebrating an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, assumed the title and dignity of an imperial autocrat, and hence the curious anomaly of titles noticed in the *Mālavikāgnimitra.*[21]

But, as we have seen, Pushyamitra is not known to have ever adopted a royal title and even after the performance of two horse-sacrifices he is designated only a *senāpati* by his descendant Dhanadeva. Moreover, the horse-sacrifice alluded to in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* was not probably his first *Aśvamedha* after which he is supposed to have assumed the royal title. It appears to be his second *Aśvamedha-yajña*, as we shall see below.

We do not know why Pushyamitra actually did not adopt any royal title even after his assumption of full regal powers. Apparently, the murder of the Maurya monarch was an act of treachery on his part, for which Bāṇa contemptuously called him *anārya*, i.e. ignoble; so Pushyamitra may have wanted to atone for his crime by endeavouring to give a different colour to the whole show. He probably refrained from appropriating the royal title for himself in order to give the people to understand that he had no hankering for it, but that his aim was only to save them from foreign domination and misrule. Consequently, he may not have cared to change his title of *senāpati* by which he was so popularly known.[22]

4. The Lineage of Pushyamitra

The dynasty founded by Pushyamitra is designated Śuṅga by the Purāṇas. H. P. Sastri regards the Śuṅgas as *Āchāryas* or teachers of the *Sāmaveda* on the evidence of the *Lātyāyanaśrautasūtra.* He draws our attention to No. 25 of the *Bibliotheca Sanskritica* series containing several works on the *Gotras* and *Pravaras* of Brāhmaṇas and to Leaf VII of its introduction wherein we have the following: "*Pravaras* Nos. 4 and 5 are pronounced by persons who were born of Śuṅga, a descendant of Bharadvāja, by a woman married in the family of Kata, a descendant of Viśvāmitra. So the Ṛsis of the families of both Bharadvāja and Viśvāmitra appear in the *Pravara*, and those who pronounced this *Pravara*

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21 *IHQ*, I, p. 94.

22 Cf. the title *yavuga*, as applied to Kadphises I on his coins (*PMC*, Pl. XVII. 8) even after his assumption of full royal powers. Cf. also the title *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* applied to Bijjala and others even after the assumption of the full royal style (*Bomb. Gazetteer*, II, ii, p. 474 ff.).

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cannot intermarry either with Bharadvāja or Viśvāmitra."[23] The Śuṅgas were therefore Bhāhmaṇas with the *Pravaras* of both the Bhāradvāja and Vaiśvāmitra families. Jayaswal has also pointed out that Śuṅga was a *Dvyāmushyāyaṇa* (*Dvigotra*) or *Niyoga-born* Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja and Vaiśvāmitra families.[24]

But the Puranic account about the lineage of Pushyamitra is not corroborated by any other source. That a Śuṅga dynasty ruled in Northern India about the first century B.C. is indicated by the Bhārhut Gateway inscription "of the time of the Śuṅgas."[25] But no particular Śuṅga sovereign is mentioned in it. In Bāṇa's *Harshacharita*, the appellation Śuṅga is used with reference to Debabhūti, the last king of the line of Pushyamitra according to the Purāṇas, and not to Pushyamitra, the founder of the dynasty.[26] But their connection rests entirely on Puranic evidence. The designation Śuṅga is nowhere else definitely associated with the name of Pushyamitra. On the other hand, we have divergent traditions on the point.

The *Divyāvadāna* represents Pushyamitra as the last member of the Maurya dynasty.[27] The *Mālavikāgnimitra* calls Agnimitra, the son of Pushyamitra, a *Baimbika*[28] :

"Dākshiṇyaṁ nāma bimboshṭhi Baimbikānāṁ kula-vratam ।
Tan = me dīrgh = ākshi ye prāṇās = te tvad = āśā-nibandhanāḥ ॥

H. C. Raychaudhuri identifies the *Baimbikas* with the Baimbakayaḥ of the *Baudhāyanaśrautasūtra*, who belonged to the Kāśyapa *gotra*.[29] The *Bhavishyaparva* section of the *Harivaṁśa*[30] seems to refer to Pushyamitra as follows :—

"Tvayā vṛittaṁ kratuṁ cha = iva vājimedhaṁ parantapa ।
Kshatriyā nāharishyanti yāvad = bhūmir = dharishyati ॥ (v. 35)

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23 *JASB* 1912, p. 287.
24 *JBORS*, XIV, p. 25 and n. 2.
25 *SI*, p. 89.
26 Bāṇa's *Harshacharita*, Trans. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 193.
27 *Divyāvadāna*, p. 433.
28 *Mālavikāgnimitra* (Act IV, 14), p. 116.
29 *Ind. Cult.*, III, p. 741 ; *Bib. Ind.*, III, p. 449.
30 Bk. III, Ch. 2, vv. 35 and 39-40.

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Upātta-yajño deveshu Brāhmaṇesh = ūpapatsyate ।
Tejasā vyāhataṁ tejas = tejasy = ev = āvatishṭhate ॥ (v. 39)
Audbhijjo bhavitā kaśchit senānīḥ Kāśyapo dvijaḥ ।
Aśvamedhaṁ Kali-yuge punaḥ praty = āharishyati ॥" (v. 40)

Jayaswal has identified this 'twice-born' *senānī* of the Kāśyapa lineage with *Senāpati* Pushyamitra[31] who is known from other evidences to have performed two horse-sacrifices.

We can leave out the *Divyāvadāna* statement, as it is evident that the Buddhist text has made a confusion between Bṛihadratha, the last representative of the Maurya line, and Pushyamitra, the general who brought an end to the dynasty by killing the former.

As to the term *Baimbika* occurring in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* in connection with Agnimitra, J. C. Ghosh[32] suggests that it was sometimes understood in the sense of "a man who is assiduous in his attention to ladies, a gallant, a lover". Moreover, it is pointed out that the term occurring in the *Baudhāyanaśrautaśūtra* is *Baimbaki*, not *Baimbika*, and that they may not be identical. Even if they are taken as identical, the text has variant readings, and the context in which it occurs may not refer to a *gotra-name* at all, *Baimbika* as derived from *Bimba* signifying only 'a son of a Bimba, a low-caste.' On the basis of Agnimitra's epithet *Baimbika*, D. C. Sircar suggests that *Bimba* was the name of an ancestor (father or grandfather) of Pushyamitra.[33] Dr Sircar draws our attention to the expression *kula-vrata* used elsewhere by Kālidāsa[34] and suggests that *Baimbika* was certainly the name of the family to which Agnimitra claims to have belonged.

If we accept Jayaswal's identification of the "upstart Brāhmaṇa *senānī* of the Kāśyapa lineage" with Pushyamitra, it becomes difficult to reconcile it with the statement of the Purāṇas which calls him a Śuṅga, apparently belonging to the Bhāradvāja *gotra*. Jayaswal suggests that Pushyamitra was a Śuṅga but either his *gotra* was forgotten or he was a *gotra-less* Brāhmaṇa.[35] But this is not much convincing.

H. C. Raychaudhuri[36] thinks that the Purāṇas might have

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31 *JBORS*, XIV, p. 25.
32 Ibid., XXIII, pp. 355-59.
33 *PIHC* 1939, pp. 475-76. Cf. also *Ind. Cult.*, III, p. 740, n. 4.
34 Cf. *Śakuntalā*, Act VII, v. 20 ; *Raghuvaṁśa*, Canto III, v. 70.
35 *JBORS*, XIV, p. 25 and n. 2.
36 *Ind. Cult.*, VI, p. 411.

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included under the name Śuṅga two distinct groups of kings, viz. princes of the line of Pushyamitra who were Baimbikas and belonged to the Kāśyapa *gotra* and the real Śuṅgas who succeeded this line and are referred to by Bāṇa and the Bhārhut inscription of Dhanabhūti. But inspite of their divergences, all the Purāṇas agree in asserting that there were ten Śuṅga kings, making the line continuous from Pushyamitra to Devabhūti.

J. C. Ghosh has tried to explain the position in a different way.[37] He points out that the family name Śuṅga was actually a combination, called Śuṅga-Śaiśiri in Āpastamba's *Pravara-kāṇḍa*[38], which was formed by Śuṅga of the Bhāradvāja *gotra* and Śaiśiri of the Kata group of the Vaiśvāmitra *gotra*. The *Baudhāyanaśrautaśūtra*[39] too refers to Śaiśireya as a *gotra* of the Kata group of the Vaiśvāmitra family. But, according to the *Matsyapurāṇa*[40], Śauṅga-Śaiśireya is a *Dvyāmushyāyaṇa* of the Bhāradvāja and Kāśyapa *gotras*. Now, men of the *Dvyāmushyāyaṇa gotra* generally passed by the name of their father's *gotra*, but they could also go by the name of the other *gotra* of the combination. So Pushyamitra, if he belonged to this Śauṅga-Śaiśireya combination, could be referred to as of Kāśyapa lineage although, by general usage, he should have been regarded as of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*.

Another alternative suggestion made by J. C. Ghosh[41] is that the Śuṅgas are not to be taken as Brāhmaṇas but as Kshatriyas, for, accoding to the *vārtika* on Pāṇini, IV, 1, 168, read with IV, 1, 170 and II, 4, 62, the forms *Śauṅgaḥ* in the singular and *Śuṅgāḥ* in the plural can be supported, if the Śuṅgas are assumed to be Kshatriyas. The word *dvija* in the above-quoted passage of the *Harivaṁśa* is taken by him literally, to signify also a Kshatriya. And as the *Pravara* (not *gotra*) of the *Purohita* has been prescribed for a Kshatriya in the *Śrautaśūtras*, Pushyamitra Śuṅga, if he was a Kshatriya, might have taken the *Pravara* of his Kāśyapa initiator.

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37 *JBORS*, XXIII, pp. 361 ff.
38 *Gotrapravaranivandha Kadambam*, p. 309.
39 *Bib. Ind.*, III, p. 447.
40 Ch. 196, vv. 51-53 and Ch. 199, vv. 11-14.
41 *IHQ*, XV, pp. 629 ff.

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But this view is not acceptable, for it is known from several sources that Pushyamitra was a Brāhmaṇa, not a Kshatriya. Tāranātha refers to him first as 'the royal *purohita*' and later on clearly as 'the Brāhmaṇa king.'[42] Patañjali in his comment on Pāṇini's rule about *rājya* gives *Brāhmaṇa-rājya* as an example.[43] As he is known to be a contemporary of Pushyamitra, his omission of *Kshatriya-rājya* and the extraordinary mention of *Brāhmaṇa-rājya* are significant.[44]

Moreover, the above *Harivaṁśa* passage clearly shows that the word *dvija* there can only signify a Brāhmaṇa, not a Kshatriya. For, in connection with the horse-sacrifice, it is said that, after its performance by King Janamejaya, no other *Aśvamedha* would be performed in future by the Kshatriyas.[45] Then it is stated that it would be revived by the 'Brāhmaṇas' and that an upstart Brāhmaṇa (*dvija*) *senānī* of the Kāśyapa lineage would re-establish it in the Kali age.[46] The Brāhmaṇa *senānī* who revived the *Aśvamedha* is almost certainly *Senāpati* Pushyamitra who is known to have performed two horse-sacrifices. The term *audbhijja* (literally, 'plant-born') is also significant, for Śuṅga, the family-designation ascribed to Pushyamitra by the Purāṇas, is the name of the fig-tree or hog-plum.[47] That the family of the so-called *senānī* of the *Harivaṁśa* really became an imperial dynasty is indicated by the next verse in which it is said that one of his descendants performed a *Rājasūya* sacrifice.[48]

But if Pushyamitra was really a Śuṅga Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*, why he is called a Kāśyapa in the *Harivaṁśa* is a difficult problem. The evidence of the texts on the *Gotras* and *Pravaras* is divergent and does not help us to solve the problem

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42 Schiefner's trans. of Tāranātha, Ch. XVI.

43 On Pāṇini, VI, 2, 130.

44 According to Jayaswal, the 100th *śloka* of the last chapter of the *Mānava-dharmaśāstra*, which states that a *Vedavit* deserves *senāpatya*, *rājya*, *daṇḍa-netṛittva*, and *sarva-lok=ādhipatya*, seems to have a significent reference to a Brāhmaṇa sovereign who could be no other than *Senāpati* Pushyamitra (*JBORS*, IV, pp. 258-59).

45 *Harivaṁśa*, Bk. III, Ch. 2, v. 35 (as quoted above).

46 Ibid., vv. 39-40.

47 H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Ind. Cult.*, IV, p. 365.

48 "tad-yuge tat-kulinaś=cha rājasūyam=api kratum |
āharishyati rājendra..... ||" (v. 41). —*JBORS*, XIV, p. 25.

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finally. But it is not improbable that the particular Śuṅga house to which Pushyamitra belonged, may have originated from a combination of the Śuṅga family of the Bhāradvāja *gotra* and another family belonging to the Kāśyapa *gotra*. The names of the *Dvyāmushyāyaṇa gotras*, as quoted in the old texts, may not be the same through all ages; there might have been later additions and Pushyamitra might have belonged to one of them. Thus, the evidence of the Purāṇas may be reconciled with that of the *Harivaṁśa*. There seems to be no justification in rejecting the Puranic view about the family-name of Pushyamitra as Śuṅga.

5. Was Pushyamitra a persecutor of Buddhism?

Pushyamitra is alleged in Buddhist traditions to have been a staunch Brahmanist and a cruel persecutor of Buddhism. The *Divyāvadāna* story about Pushyamitra runs as follows[49]: Pushyamitra, bent on rivalling Aśoka in power and fame, began to destroy the monasteries built by Aśoka. He proceeded at first to destroy the Kukkuṭārāma-vihāra, situated near Pāṭaliputra; but it was saved by a miracle. Then he directed his destructive campaigns towards the north-west and, reaching Śākala, declared hundred *Dīnāras* for the head of each Buddhist monk. He proceeded further towards the north-west and reached the kingdom of Koshṭhaka that was ruled by a *Yaksha* called Daṁshṭrānivāsin who was a great devotee of Buddhism. This *Yaksha* took upon himself to defend the cause of Buddhism and, with the help of another *Yaksha* called Kṛimisha, crushed Pushyamitra along with his army.

The *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* practically echoes this tradition, while speaking of the anti-Buddhist exploits of a ruler named Gomimukhya who rose to power just after the fall of the Mauryas. The context and the description of the activities of Gomimukhya clearly indicate that the person concerned was none other than Pushyamitra. The following is the narrative, as given by Jayaswal[50]:

"In the Low Age (*yugādhame*) there will be king, the chief Gomin (*Gomimukhya*, S.; 'Gomin by name', T.) 'destroyer of

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49 *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 433-34.

50 See *IHI*, pp. 18-19; for text, see p. 38.

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my religion' (530). Having seized the East and the gate of Kashmir, he the fool, the wicked, will destroy monasteries with relics, and kill monks of good conduct. He will die in the North (532-33), being killed along with his officers (? *sa-rāshṭrā*) and his animal relations [*paśu-bāndhavāḥ*] by the fall of a mountain rock (534). He was destined to a dreadful suffering in hell (535-537)."

Tāranātha also records a Buddhist tradition that Pushyamitra burnt a number of monasteries from *Madhyadeśa as far as Jālandhara.*[51]

These Buddhist stories have led some scholars to hold that Pushyamitra was a persecutor of Buddhism; but this view is disputed by others. The murder of the Maurya monarch Bṛihadratha and the performance of the horse-sacrifices by Pushyamitra are regarded by Smith as "an early stage in the Brahmanical reaction which was fully developed five centuries later in the time of Samudragupta and his successors."[52] H. P. Sastri also sees the hands of the Brāhmaṇas in the great dynastic revolution.[53] But H. C. Raychaudhuri[54] criticises this view and holds that the murder of Bṛihadratha by Pushyamitra could not have been actuated by any Brahmanical reaction, as Brahmanism is not known to have suffered under the Mauryas. He points out that Aśoka always mentioned the Brāhmaṇas before the Śramaṇas in his Edicts and that the appointment of the Brāhmaṇa Pushyamitra as the Maurya general shows that the Brāhmaṇas were given high place of honour in the court of the Mauryas. According to him, "the Buddhist remains at Bhārhut erected 'during the sovereignty of of the Śuṅgas' do not bear out the theory which represents them as the leaders of a militant Brahmanism."

But it cannot be denied that the privileged position of the Brāhmaṇas in Law and Society prior to Aśoka's reign was to some extent impaired by the policy of equality followed by Aśoka with regard to all religious sects.[55] Thus Brahmanism

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51 Schiefner's trans. of Tāranātha, p. 81, as quoted by Smith in *EHI*[4], p. 213 and n. 1.

52 *EHI*[4], p. 213.

53 *JASB* 1910, pp. 259-60.

54 *PHAI*[6], pp. 354-66.

55 N. N. Ghosh has cited instances from Brahmanic and *Dharmasūtra* literatures to show the privileged position of the Brāhmaṇas prior to Aśoka's reign,

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seems to have indirectly suffered under Aśoka and his successors. The Bhārhut monuments which were erected during the time of the Later Śuṅgas do not appear to reflect the religious policy pursued by Pushyamitra whose successors might have been more tolerant towards Buddhism.

Of course, the tradition of Pushyamitra's persecution of Buddhism is known only from Buddhist writers who are likely to be biased about a Brāhmaṇa ruler, and the amount of truth in this tradition is difficult to ascertain. But in the absence of any contrary evidence, one has to admit that these traditional stories about Pushyamitra were not without any foundation. Whether the murder of Bṛihadratha and the alleged persecution of the Buddhists were actuated by a Brahmanical reaction promoted and championed by Pushyamitra or by some political motives, we do not know. But it is only natural that Brahmanism would flourish under Pushyamitra who was himself a Brāhmaṇa and the performer of Vedic sacrifices like the *Aśvamedha*. The Buddhist tradition, however, remembers him as a non-Buddhist monarch who extended his sway from Pāṭaliputra in the east to Śākala in the west and aspired to rival Aśoka in power and fame, but in a perverted way.

6. *Original Home of Pushyamitra and the Extent of his Dominions*

Neither the Purāṇas nor the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa gives us any idea about the original home of Pushyamitra or his seat of power; nor do we know from them what portions of the derelict Maurya empire he actually usurped and ultimately managed to hold. It is therefore necessary to find out if other sources throw any light on these points.

Some scholars[56] hold that Pushyamitra was a native of Vidiśā, while Tarn[57] goes a step further and assumes that Pushyamitra was originally a "hereditary king" of Vidiśā. The root of this misconception lies in a certain expression occurring in a passage in Act V of Kālidāśa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*, where

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and he is of opinion that Aśoka in his reforming zeal to introduce *samatā* in every respect, unconsciously and without any intention, mortally offended the Brāhmaṇas (*PIHC* 1943, pp. 109 ff.).

56 Cunningham, *NC* 1870, p. 226; Rapson, *CHI*, pp. 522-23; and R. P. Chanda, *IHQ*, V, p. 396.

57 *GBI*, p. 176, n. 1.

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Pushyamitra writes a letter to his son Agnimitra at Vidiśā inviting him to attend the horse-sacrifice to be performed by the former. The passage in question, as occurs in all the authentic versons of the text[58], runs thus :

"Svasti. Yajña-śaraṇāt senāpatiḥ Pushpamitro Vaidiśasthaṁ putram = āyushmantam Agnimitraṁ snehāt parishvajya anudarśayati."

But in a corrupt MS *Vaidiśasthaṁ putram* is substituted by *Vaidiśas = tatratyam*[59]. Thus, while *Vaidiśasthaṁ putram* means "son residing at Vidiśā" and refers to Agnimitra, the component parts of the variant reading *Vaidiśas = tatratyam* refer respectively to Pushyamitra and Agnimitra. The latter expression seems to be a copyists' mistake for *Vaidiśastham* which is more appropriate in the context. Cunningham and his followers appear to have given undue importance to a highly doubtful expression and come to the conclusion that Pushyamitra hailed from Vidiśā.

Vidiśā, however, played a great part in the politics of the Śuṅga period and was certainly ruled by princes of Śuṅga extraction.[60] Vidiśā's importance during the Śuṅga period was acknowledged by foreign rulers and a Greek emissary named Heliodorus was actually sent from Taxila by the Indo-Greek king Antialcidas to the Vidiśā court.[61] Yet we cannot say with any amount of certainty that Vidiśā was the *original home* of Pushyamitra and Agnimitra only on the evidence of such facts and a certain doubtful expression occurring in a corrupt MS of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*.

While, therefore, the question of Vidiśā being the home of Pushyamitra is in dispute, Tarn's assumption that it was his "hereditary kingdom" seems to be far-fetched. Had he originally been a "king", one wonders why he is always called a *senāpati*, and never a *rājan*.

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58 Cf. Shankar Pandurang Pandit's critical edition (Bombay, 1869), p. 153 ; and A. Scharpe's *Kālidāsa-Lexicon* (Brugg, België, 1956) Vol. I, Part II, p. 56. The reference is to *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act V, 15.

59 Cf. the edition of Kasinath Pandurang Parab (Bombay, 1907), p. 103. In the MS *E* of S. P. Pandit's edition, the reading is *Vaidiśyam* (p. 153, n. 2) ; but all the other MSS read, *Vaidiśastham*.

60 Cf. the Puranic passage, *Śuṅgānāṁ tu kulasyānte*, etc., *DKA*, p. 49. The Besnagar inscriptions of Bhāgabhadra and Bhāgavata probably also indicate that a Śuṅga family ruled at Vidiśā (see *SI*, p. 90 and *ASR* 1913-14, p. 190).

61 Cf. the Besnagar Pillar inscription of Heliodorus, *SI*, p. 90.

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Although the *Divyāvadāna* misrepresents Pushyamitra by making him the last member of the Maurya dynasty, there can be no doubt that it refers to Pushyamitra, the Maurya general who brought an end to the Maurya rule. From that text it is clear that Pushyamitra's seat of power was Pāṭaliputra, for his alleged anti-Buddhist campaigns started from that city and he returned there on his initial failure to destroy the Kukkuṭārāmavihāra situated near Pāṭaliputra. It seems natural also that Pushyamitra who usurped the Maurya throne should continue to rule from the Maurya capital itself.

Dhanadeva, the king of Kośala claims in his Ayodhyā inscription to be the sixth in descent from *Senāpati* Pushyamitra, the performer of two *Aśvamedhas*. If Dhanadeva was not a direct descendant of Pushyamitra (cf. the difference in the name-ending), he might have descended from the latter's daughter's side. In that case, it is not unlikely that Dhanadeva's forefather, probably a son-in-law of Pushyamitra, was the governor of Kośala under his suzerainty. Thus Kośala seems to have been included in the dominions of Pushyamitra. And as the local dynastic coinages of Kauśāmbī, Mathurā and Pañchāla did not start before the latter half of the second century B.C.,[62] these kingdoms are also likely to have been included within Pushyamitra's empire and ruled by his governors.

The *Mālavikāgnimitra* makes it evident that to the south, Pushyamitra extended his command over territories as far as the Narmadā and even up to the Wardha. For, the drama informs us that one Vīrasena, a brother-in-law of his son Agnimitra, was appointed as an *Antapāla* in a fort on the banks of the Narmadā.[63] Agnimitra's wars with the adjoining state of Vidarbha, as alluded to in the drama, resulted in the acknowledgement of the suzerainty of the house of Pushyamitra by the rulers of Vidarbha.[64] That Pushyamitra's territories included Vidiśā in the west is also evident from the drama.

The *Mālavikāgnimitra*, again, refers to some skirmishes that

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62 See Chs. V, VI and VII below.

63 "Atthi devie vaṇṇāvaro bhādā Viraseṇo ṇāma So bhaṭṭiṇā antapāladugge ṇammadā-kule ṭhāvido," according to MS *G* (stated to be "a very correct MS, almost free from error") of *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act I, 6 (S. P. Pandit's edition, p. 13); and for the variant reading 'Mandākini' in place of Narmadā, see ibid., p. 166.

64 *Mālavikāgnimitra* (Act I, 7-8 and Act V, 13-14), pp. 15-17 and 151-52.

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took place between a Yavana cavalry and Pushymitra's forces which were being led by his grandson Vasumitra, while the sacrificial horse was roaming on the *dakshiṇa* bank of the Sindhu.[65] This probably indicates that Pushyamitra's suzerainty was recognised as far as that river, for, otherwise his sacrificial horse would not perhaps have gone unchallenged upto that point. Wilson identified this Sindhu with the well-known river of that name in the Punjab[66], but Cunningham objected to this view on the grounds that the Sindhu of the Punjab has no *dakshiṇa*, i.e. south bank, and that Pushyamitra and Agnimitra were 'rulers of Vidiśā', hence Pushyamitra's forces could not be expected to reach as far as the Indus.[67]

But both the objections of Cunningham can be waived aside. First, as to the Indus having a south bank, it is not unlikely, as shown by R. C. Majumdar, that in olden days it might have followed a different course, so as to have a south bank. It is moreover pointed out by him that *dakshiṇa* in Sanskrit does not always mean 'south', it also means 'right' as opposed to 'left'.[68] The existence of Greek settlements on the right bank of the Indus is attested by numismatic evidence while, on the other hand, it is disputable if the Greeks had any stronghold on the banks of the Sindhu near Narwar, with which Cunningham sought to identify the river in question.

Then, Cunningham's supposition that Pushyamitra's dominions were confined only within the limits of Vidiśā is not corroborated by any evidence. On the contrary, we have some indications that his kingdom extended from Pāṭaliputra in the east to Vidiśā in the west, including Kośala (and probably also Kauśāmbī, Mathurā and Pañchāla), and the upper Deccan as far as the Narmadā and the Wardha in the south. So it would not be too much to hold that the arms of Pushyamitra reached as far as the Indus in the Punjab, specially when there are also Buddhist traditions to that effect.[69] For, the sort of persecution of the Buddhists by Pushyamitra, as alleged by the author of the *Divyāvadāna* and Tāranātha, would not have been possible

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65 Ibid., (Act V, 14), p. 153.

66 *The Theatre of the Hindus*, II, p. 353.

67 *NC* 1870, pp. 226-27.

68 *IHQ*, I, pp. 216-17.

69 See above, Sec 5.

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if his sphere of influence did not extend as far as Śākala, i.e. modern Sialkot or Jālandhara in the eastern Punjab.

According to the *Divyāvadāna* story, Pushyamitra in his pursuit of anti-Buddhist campaigns marched much beyond Śākala in the north-west, but ultimately met his doom when he reached the kingdom of Koshṭhaka, then ruled by a Yaksha. As we have seen, the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* also describes similar anti-Buddhist exploits of one Gomimukhya (probably referring thereby to Pushyamitra) who rose to power just after the fall of the Mauryas and "seized the East and the Gate of Kashmir" but met his death in the North. It is not unlikely that these Buddhist legends are founded on facts. All that they indicate is that Pushyamitra probably made a vain attempt at extending his suzerainty as far as the frontiers of Kashmir and probably came in contact with some alien (Indo-Greek) ruler who ultimately put him to death.

7. *Pushyamitra's relations with Foreign and Indigenous Powers*

We have already seen that the Yavana invasion referred to in the *Yugapurāṇa* and the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali probably took place during the reign of Bṛihadratha, when Pushyamitra was serving as the general of the Maurya sovereign, and that his occupation of the Maurya throne was itself a sequel to the foreign invasion.[70] This was therefore the first conflict of Pushyamitra with the Yavanas. If so, the encounter of his forces with the Greeks on the banks of the Sindhu, as alluded to in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, will have to be regarded as a later one. For, as the drama depicts, it occurred at a time when Pushyamitra was securely established on the Maurya throne and was sufficiently advanced in age so as to have a grandson mature enough to take charge of the saçrificial horse.

If the story of Pushyamitra's persecution of Buddhism recorded in the *Divyāvadāna* is to be believed, another conflict with the Yavanas took place towards the end of his career, in which Pushyamitra probably lost his life. P. C. Bagchi[71] identifies the Yaksha Kṛimisha of that story with Demetrius and the other Yaksha Daṁshṭrānivāsin with Menander and locates the site of

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70 See above, Sec. 2 and Introduction (pp. 5-6) for the probable date of the Yavana invasion.

71 *IHQ*, XXII, pp. 81 ff.

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Koshṭhaka (identified with ancient Sthūlakoshṭha) at Birkot in the Swat Valley. But his presumptions lead to some difficulties, the principal of which are that Demetrius' campaign towards Pāṭaliputra is assumed to have been undertaken *after* the death of Pushyamitra and that Menander is made a senior contemporary of Demetrius. But we have seen that Demetrius' Indian campaigns are most likely to have taken place even before the rise of Pushyamitra to power and therefore Kṛimisha cannot be identified with Demetrius. As to Menander, he might have been a younger contemporary of Pushyamitra and, as we know that he was the only Indo-Greek ruler whose name is cherished by the Buddhists, he may possibly be identified with the so-called Yaksha Daṁshṭrānivāsin although there is no similarity between the two names. It is possible that Pushyamitra who struggled for power with the Greeks, ended his life in a fight with Menander who is known to have made his capital at Śākala, the very place where Pushyamitra is alleged to have made his anti-Buddhist declaration.

In the opinion of some scholars,[72] another enemy threatened Pushyamitra's dominions from Kaliṅga. In the Hāthigumphā inscription of the Cheta king Khāravela of Kaliṅga[73], it is said that the king made several expeditions towards Northern India, in one of which he compelled the Magadhan king Bṛihaspatimitra[74] to bow down at his feet. This Bṛihaspatimitra is identified by the above scholars with Pushyamitra on the ground that Bṛihaspati is the regent of the asterism Pushyā. But Bṛihaspatimitra's identification with Pushyamitra on the above ground is unconvincing.[75] Moreover, the Hāthigumphā inscription is dated about the end of the first century B.C. by modern epigraphists[76], whereas Pushyamitra reigned in the first half of the second century B.C., so that Pushyamitra and Khāravela could not have been contemporaries.

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72 Jayaswal, *JBORS*, III, pp. 473-79; R. D. Banerji, ibid., p. 504; Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 75; and V. A. Smith, *EHI*[4], p. 209.

73 *SI*, p. 206.

74 R. C. Majumdar doubted the reading *Bahasatimita* (*Ind. Ant.*, XLVIII, p. 189). Cf. also Allan, *BMC* (*AI*), p. xcviii. The reading, however, is now accepted as correct: see Sircar, *SI*, p. 290.

75 Cf. R. P. Chanda, *IHQ*, V, pp. 595-97; H. C. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*[6], p. 373-74; and D. C. Sircar, *SI*, p. 209, n. 11.

76 E. g., D. C. Sircar, *SI*, p. 206, n. 1.

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As already indicated above (p. 37), the *Mālavikāgnimitra* informs us that during Pushyamitra's reign, Agnimitra, his son and viceroy at Vidiśā, waged a successful war with the adjoining state of Vidarbha resulting in the acknowledgement of the suzerainty of the house of Pushyamitra by the Vidarbha rulers.

8. Horse-sacrifices of Pushyamitra

We have already referred to the *Harivaṁśa* passage which speaks of the revival of the *Aśvamedha-yajña* in the Kali Age by a Brāhmaṇa *senānī* of the Kāśyapa lineage who is most probably to be identified with Pushyamitra, since he is known to have performed two horse-sacrifices from the Ayodhyā inscription of Dhanadeva. We have also seen that the horse-sacrifice in which Patañjali presided as priest probably took place later than the Greek invasion of Sāketa and Madhyamikā.[77] In that case, it seems likely that it was Pushyamitra's first *Aśvamedha* which marked his ascendancy to power by killing Bṛihadratha as well as his first success over the Greeks. And as the victory over the Yavanas on the banks of the Sindhu, as alluded to in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, appears to be a later event, the horse-sacrifice which followed it may be regarded as the second one performed by Pushyamitra. Thus, it seems that both his *Aśvamedhas* followed his victory over the Greeks.

The statement of the *Harivaṁśa* that *Aśvamedha* was not performed in the historical period till its revival by the Brāhmaṇa *senānī* stands confirmed.[78] The import of this revival after its long abeyance, and at a time when feelings ran high against animal sacrifice during the reign of Aśoka and his successors, cannot be underestimated.[79] It was only fitting for a monarch like Pushyamitra who twice repelled foreign intruders and brought states like Vidarbha into subordination, to have performed the *Aśvamedha*. It amounted to the establishment of his claim to the rank of the emperor of Northern India. We must therefore admit that Pushyamitra was no insignificant ruler and that the glories of Magadha lingered a few years more under him.

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77 See Introduction, p. 5 above.

78 For the text see p. 29, v. 35, above. Cf. *JBORS*, XIV, pp. 25-26.

79 There are controversies over the significance of the *Aśvamedha* : cf. *Ind. Cult.*, I, pp. 114, 115, 311, 704 ; ibid., II, pp. 140, 789 ; ibid., III, pp. 547, 759, 763 ; and ibid., IV, p. 272.

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9. *Administrative System of Pushyamitra*

Nothing is known about the system of administration under the Brāhmaṇa ruler. But it is possible that it was more or less the continuation of the Maurya administrative system with minor changes.[80] The provinces were probably still governed by members of the royal family. The *Mālavikāgnimitra* informs us that the province of Vidiśā was ruled by Agnimitra as a *goptṛin*, i.e. viceroy, of his father Pushyamitra.[81] Kośala too seems to be one of the viceroyalties under Pushyamitra, which was governed by one of his near relatives, since Dhanadeva, king of Kośala, claims in his Ayodhyā inscription to be a descendant of Pushyamitra. The provincial viceroys under Pushyamitra, however, seem to have enjoyed a greater degree of independence. Agnimitra bore the title of *rājan*, in place of the title of *kumāra* assumed by the provincial governors, who were princes of the royal family, during the time of Aśoka.[82]

Patañjali refers to the *Sabhā* of Pushyamitra[83]; but it is not clear what is actually meant by it—a Council of Ministers or an Assembly. Since we know from the *Mālavikāgnimitra* that a viceregal prince like Agnimitra was assisted by a Council of Ministers (*Amātya-parishad* or *Mantri-parishad*)[84] the Council appears to be an important element in the central government as well.

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80 From a comparative study of the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* depicting the administrative and political conditions of the times of the Mauryas and the Śuṅgas, Jayaswal concludes that the Śuṅga government was a sort of feudal monarchy : see *JBORS*, IV, pp. 263-64.

81 *Mālavikāgnimitra* (Act V, 20), p. 162.

82 Cf. the two Separate Kaliṅga Edicts of Aśoka. For the status of Agnimitra as a *de facto* independent king see Ch. II, Sec. 2 below. The local coinage of Kośala or Ayodhyā, which was also ruled by a near relative of Pushyamitra, indicates its semi-independent status (see Ch. V, Sec. 2 below).

83 *Mahābhāshya* (on Pāṇini, I, 1, 68, vār. 7), Vol. I, p. 177.

84 *Mālavikāgnimitra* (Act V, 14), pp. 151-52. Even if we assume that the *Mālavikāgnimitra* was written in the Gupta period and hence may not reflect the social and political condition of the Śuṅga times, still we may hold with a reasonable amount of certainty that the *amātya-parishad*, as mentioned in the drama, really existed in the Śuṅga period, since it is known to have played an important part in the Maurya administration (cf. Inscriptions of Aśoka), and since the Government of the Śuṅgas, so far as is known, was mainly a continuation of that of their predecessors.

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10. Question of the Eight Sons of Pushyamitra

Basing his arguments on two Puranic passages, Jayaswal held that Pushyamitra had eight sons who ruled simultaneously as his provincial governors during his life-time.[85] One of them occurs in most MSS of the *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* Purāṇas which state that Pushyamitra made others rule (*kārayishyati vai rājyam*.[86] The other passage which reads *Pushyamitra-sutāś=ch=āshṭau bhavishyanti samā nṛipāḥ*, indicating that Pushyamitra had eight sons, occurs in some *Vāyu* MSS.[87] Jayaswal even gives the names of the eight sons. Three of them were Sujyeshṭha, Agnimitra and Dhanadeva (taking the expression *Pushyamitrasya shashṭhena* in the Ayodhyā inscription to mean 'the sixth son of Pushyamitra), while the other five are picked up from amongst the so-called Mitra rulers of Northern India.[88]

But the Puranic passages, on which Jayaswal relies, are apparently incorrect. For, the *j Matsya*, *Vishṇu* and *Bhāgavata* Purāṇas clearly state that Pushyamitra ruled himself (*svayaṁ rājyaṁ karishyati*).[89] Then, in the *Vāyupurāṇa* passage quoted by Jayaswal, "singulars have obviously been wrongly converted into plurals through misapplying *ashṭau* to *suta* instead of to *samā*", while the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* has *Agnimitro nṛipaś=ch=āshṭau bhavishyati samā nṛipaḥ*, "where the first *nṛipaś*° should no doubt be *sutaś*°."[90] This simply means, 'his son Agnimitra will be king eight years.' The *Vishṇu* and *Bhāgavata* Purāṇas also mention Agnimitra after Pushyamitra without referring to reign-periods.

So, there is actually no mention of the eight sons of Pushyamitra in the Purāṇas. And the expression *Pushyamitrasya shashṭhena* of the Ayodhyā inscription should be interpreted as 'the sixth [descendant] of Pushyamitra', according to modern views[91], and not as 'the sixth [son] of Pushyamitra', as taken by Jayaswal. His other identifications are also far-fetched and do not stand on any solid ground. Of the eight names

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85 *JBORS*, X, pp. 205-06 ; ibid., XIII, pp. 247-48 ; and ibid., XV, pp. 583-84.

86 *DKA*, p. 31.

87 Ibid., p. 31, n. 10.

88 See n. 85 above and *JBORS*, XX, pp. 291 ff.

89 See n. 20 above.

90 *DKA*, p. 31, n. 10.

91 Cf. N. G. Majumdar, *ABORI*, VII, pp. 160 ff. ; D. R. Sahni, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, pp. 56-57 ; and D. C. Sircar, *SI*, p. 96, n. 3.

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suggested by him, only one, viz. Agnimitra, is known to be a son of Pushyamitra.[92]

11. Chronology of Pushyamitra

Chandragupta Maurya is generally believed to have ascended the throne one year after Alexander's death, i.e. about 322 B.C.[93] The Purāṇas are unanimous in assigning 137 years to the Mauryas.[94] Thus, the approximate date when Pushyamitra came to power is 185 B.C.

Pushyamitra ruled for 36 years according to the *Matsyapurāṇa*, and 60 years according to the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* Purāṇas.[95] But the 60-year rule of Pushyamitra is inconsistent with the total duration of 112 years' rule by the ten members of the dynasty, given unanimously by all the Purāṇas, since the aggregate of reigns, following that calculation, would be 149 years and 142 years according to *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* Purāṇas respectively. If we accept 36 years for Pushyamitra's reign, as given by the *Matsyapurāṇa* the aggregate would be just 112 years.[96]

Merutuṅga in his *Therāvalī* says that the Mauryas ruled for 108 years and Pushyamitra for 30 years.[97] R. C. Majumdar

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92 *Mālavikāgnimitra* (Act V, 15), p. 153.

93 Alexander's death took place in 323 B.C. : see *CHI*, p. 386. For the date of Chandragupta's accession in c. 322 B.C., cf. V. A. Smith, *OHI*, p. 73 and *EHI*[4] pp. 122-23 ; F. W. Thomas, *CHI*, p 471 ; and for other views see H. C. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*[6], p. 295, n. 3.

"The Jaina date 313 B.C., for Chandragupta's accession if it is based on a correct tradition, may refer to his acquisition of Avanti in Malwa, as the chronological datum is found in a verse where the Maurya king finds mention in a list of successors of Pālaka, king of Avanti. Cf. I.H.Q., 1929, p. 402'.—H. C. Raychaudhuri, *op cit.*

94 *DKA*, p. 28 (*Matsyapurāṇa*) and p. 30 (*Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* Purāṇas).

95 Ibid., p. 31 ; see also the table in Ch. 2 below.

96 See the table in Ch. 2 below showing the reign periods of the ten Śuṅga rulers, according to different Purāṇas. It is only the *dfgjm Matsya* lists that give us the aggregate of 112 years.

97 "saṭṭhi pālagaraṇṇo paṇavaṇṇasayaṁ tu hoi ṇandāṇa ।
aṭṭhasayaṁ muriyāṇaṁ tisaṁ chia pūsamittassa ॥" (v. 2)

[Translation : Sixty are (the years) of king Pālaka, but one hundred and fifty-five are (the years) of the Nandas ; one hundred and eight those of the Mauryas, and thirty those of Pussamitta (Pushyamitra)."—Bühler, *Ind. Ant.*, II, p. 362 (Text) and p. 363 (Trans.)]

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thinks that the 137 years of Maurya rule is split up into two periods—the last 30 years being assigned to Pushyamitra as he was the *de facto*, if not *de jure*, king of Magadha at that time. The period of 36 years assigned to him by the *Matsyapurāṇa* is according to him, the number of years Pushyamitra actually ruled after murdering Bṛihadratha. And the period of 60 years as given by the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* Purāṇas, includes his rule as king *de facto* as well as king *de jure*.[98]

98 *IHQ*, I, pp. 91-93.

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CHAPTER II

THE LATER ŚUṄGAS, KĀṆVAS, AND THE LATER HISTORY OF MAGADHA

1. Sources

Our sources of information about the successors of Pushyamitra are very few. Besides the literary sources like the Purāṇas, Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* and Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*, there are a few epigraphical notices, e.g. the two Besnagar Garuḍa pillar inscriptions—one of them referring to the 14th year of King Kāśiputra Bhāgabhadra[1], and the other to the 12th year of Bhāgavata[2] who is probably also mentioned in the Barli inscription[3]—and the Bhārhut Gateway inscription 'of the regime of the Śuṅgas'.[4] But information gleaned from these sources being very meagre does not help us much to verify or supplement the statements of the Purāṇas. Several coins are attributed by Jayaswal to the Later Śuṅga and Kāṇva princes, but the attribution is doubtful. We have, therefore, to fall back mainly upon the Purāṇas which unfortunately give variant lists of the successors of Pushyamitra.

2. Śuṅga Kings in the Puranic Lists

The five Purāṇas which give us the lists of the Śuṅga kings are *Matsya*, *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Vishṇu* and *Bhāgavata*. Not only do the different Purāṇas vary with regard to the names of the Śuṅga kings or the periods of their reigns, but different MSS of the same Purāṇa often give us divergent lists.

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1 *SI*, p. 90.
2 *JBBRAS*, XXIII, p. 144 ; and *ASR* 1913-14, p. 190.
3 *JBRS*, XXXVII, pp. 34 ff.
4 *SI*, p. 89.

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The following is a comparative table of the Śuṅga rulers (with approximate dates) as given by different Purāṇas :[5]

	Matsya (10 kings : 112 years)	*Vāyu* (10 Śuṅgas : 112 years)	*Brahmāṇḍa* (10 Śuṅgas : 112 years)	*Vishṇu* (10 Śuṅgas : 112 years)	*Bhāgavata* (10 Śuṅgas : more than 100 years)	*Date* (B.C.)
1.	Pushyamitra (36 years)	Pushyamitra (60 years)	Pushyamitra (60 years)	Pushpamitra	Pushpamitra	185-149
2.	...	Agnimitra (8 years)	Agnimitra (8 years)	Agnimitra	Agnimitra	157-149
3.	Vasujyeshṭha (7 years)	Sujyeshṭha (7 years)	Sujyeshṭha (7 years)(	Sujyeshṭha or Jyeshṭha —*k* MS)	Sujyeshṭha	149-142
4.	Vasumitra (or Sumitra —*d* MS) (10 years)	Vasumitra (10 years)	Vasumitra (10 years)	Vasumitra	Vasumitra	142-132
5.	Antaka (2 years) (or 7 years —a^1n MSS)	Andhraka (2 years)	Bhadra (2 years)	Ārdraka (or Odruka —*bh* MS)	Bhadraka	132-130
6.	Pulindaka (3 years)	Pulindaka (or Mulindaka —*e* MS) (3 years)	Pulindaka (3 years)	Pulindaka	Pulinda	130-127
7.	... (Yomegha- *dfgjm* MSS : 3 years)	Ghosha (3 years)	Ghosha (3 years)	Ghoshavasu	Ghosha	127-124
8.	Vajramitra (9 years)	Vajramitra (14 years —*e* MS)	Vajramitra (7 years)	Vajramitra	Vajramitra	124-115
9.	Samābhāga (32 years)	Bhāgavata (32 years)	Bhāgavata (32 years)	Bhāgavata	Bhāgavata	115-83
10.	Devabhūmi (10 years)	Devabhūmi (10 years)	Devabhūmi (10 years)	Devabhūti	Devabhūti	83-73
	112 years— *dfgjm* MSS ; 114 years —a^1n MSS ; 109 years —other MSS.	149 years	142 years			

5 *Vishṇupurāṇa* (trans. by Wilson), IV, p. 190 ; *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (ed. by Dhananjaya Das), Part 12, p. 6 ; *Matsyapurāṇa* (trans. by A. Taluqdar), *Sacred Books of the Hindus*, Vol. XVII, Part II, p. 336 ; and *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* Purāṇas (Pargiter), *DKA*, pp. 31-33, and notes.

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It is to be noted from the above table that the *Vishṇu* and *Bhāgavata* Purāṇas give only a list of the kings without their reign periods, while the *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* Purāṇas record the names of the Śuṅgas together with the duration of their reigns. Most copies of the *Matsyapurāṇa* do not mention the seventh king Ghosha, while Agnimitra, the second king, is not mentioned in any MS of that Purāṇa. The individual reign periods, as given in the *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* Purāṇas generally agree, except in the cases of Pushyamitra (No. 1) and Vajramitra (No. 8).[6] But all the Purāṇas agree as to the total number of kings, which is ten, and the total duration of their reign periods, which is 112 years. The actual total, however, according to the aggregate of reigns differ in the different Purāṇas.

Now, if we examine the above table, we find that it is only according to the *dfgjm Matsya* lists, which include the 3 years' reign of the seventh Śuṅga king (given as Yomegha) but *excludes* (like other *Matsya* MSS) the reign of Agnimitra (which, according to the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* Purāṇas, was of 8 years' duration), that the actual total of the reign-periods exactly corresponds with the total duration of the dynasty (given almost unanimously as 112 years). On the other hand, if we add the 8 years' reign of Agnimitra, the total of reigns becomes 120 years. Jagannath seeks to rectify this chronological anomaly in the Puranic lists by excluding the reigns of the fifth, sixth and seventh Śuṅga princes, viz. Andhraka, Pulindaka and Ghosha, which together also amounts to 8 years. According to him, Andhraka and Pulindaka were actually Āndhra kings who ruled at Pāṭaliputra after the murder of the fourth Śuṅga king Vasumitra, and Ghosha was but identical with the Pañchāla ruler (Bhadraghosha) whose copper coins have been discovered. Jagannath thinks that these three names have erroneously crept into the Puranic texts.[7] But this view cannnot be accepted, since it makes the number of Śuṅga kings only 'seven' instead of 'ten', as given unanimously by all the Purāṇas.

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6 The reign period of the fifth Śuṅga king as given by most of the Purāṇas agree, except in *a¹n Matsya*. See the table above.

7 *Compr. Hist. Ind.*, II, p. 101.

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As Pargiter has shown, the *Matsyapurāṇa*, although based on the same original source from which other Purāṇas have also derived their material, has a character of its own, distinct from that of *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa*, and is earlier than the two (*Vishṇu* and *Bhāgavata* being still later than *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa*).[8] Hence textual corruptions are less likely to have crept into its MSS. The omission of Agnimitra's name from all the *Matsya* MSS appears to be quite significant and may not be due to accumulated errors, since it is only according to *Matsya* lists (which alone exclude the reign of Agnimitra) that we get the actual total of 112 years for the dynasty.

Agnimitra was undoubtedly the son of Pushyamitra (as also vouchsafed by the *Mālavikāgnimitra*)[9], but the above considerations raise some doubts as to his succession to the imperial throne of Pāṭaliputra and no light is shed by any other source on this point. The *Mālavikāgnimitra* which informs us that Agnimitra ruled as a viceroy or *goptṛin* at Vidiśā during his father's life-time[10] does not take us to the period when his father died and, therefore, is of no help to us with regard to the question of his succession. It is, however, evident from the above text that although a viceroy, Agnimitra ruled practically independently at Vidiśā. Kālidāsa styles him a *rājan* and we find him conducting warfare with the neighbouring state of Vidarbha without consulting his father, just like an independent king. The state of Vidarbha was established 'not long ago' (*achir = ādhishṭhita-rājya*) by the Maurya Minister who made his brother-in-law Yajñasena its ruler. Now, Mādhavasena, a cousin of Yajñasena, sought the help of Agnimitra against the ministerial party and was captured by the forces of Yajñasena while he was crossing the borders of Vidarbha. When Agnimitra demanded the release of Mādhavasena, Yajñasena suggested, as a preliminary condition, the release of his brother-in-law, the Maurya Minister who had been formerly imprisoned by Agnimitra. This enraged Agnimitra who sent an army to reduce the haughty ruler of Vidarbha, as a result of which the state of Vidarbha was divided between

8 Pargiter, *DKA*, p. vi.

9 *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act V, 14.

10 Ibid., Act V, 20.

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the two cousins, the Wardha forming the boundary line between their kingdoms.[11] Both the cousins presumably acknowledged the suzerainty of the house of Pushyamitra.

It appears that Agnimitra's rule did not extend much beyond Vidiśā, and was contemporaneous with that of his father. Most probably he did not survive his father to succeed him on the imperial throne; that is why the *Matsya* lists omit his reign.[12] But since he ruled at Vidiśā like an independent king, he is included in the lists given by other Purāṇas; and even the *Matsya* MSS, although they do not mention Agnimitra by name, give the total number of kings as 'ten', thereby showing that he is actually considered as one of the Śuṅga kings. His reign-period is not separately counted by the *Matsya* MSS, probably because it converged with that of his father at Pāṭaliputra.

To Agnimitra Śuṅga is often attributed some copper coins found in Ahichchhatrā and Kauśāmbī regions, bearing the name of Agnimitra.[13] This attribution is highly untenable from a critical numismatic point of view, because the Agnimitra coins of Ahichchhatrā and Kauśāmbī belong to two distinct series of purely local issues, from which the coins bearing the name of Agnimitra cannot be singled out, and because these coins are much later in date than the time of Agnimitra Śuṅga.[14] Moreover, it is doubtful if he had any sway over the Ahichchhatrā and Kauśāmbī regions and if he ever issued any coin at all; for Vidiśā, the seat of Agnimitra's power, has not so far produced any coin bearing the name of Agnimitra. Jayaswal has attributed another queer coin (?) to Agnimitra.[15] But in the

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11 Ibid., Act I, 6-8 and Act V, 13-14.

12 The *Yugapurāṇa* mentions a ruler of Bhadrapāka named Agnimitra (variantly Agnivaiśya) who lost his life for a beautiful girl in a battle with the Brāhmaṇas: see *JBORS*, XIV, p. 406 (text) and pp. 412-13 (transl.). But the context does not help us in identifying this Agnimitra with his Śuṅga namesake.

13 See for the Ahichchhatrā coins *BMC(AI)*, p. 200, Pl. XXVIII. 8, for the Kauśāmbī coins ibid., p 153, Pl. XX. 5; and for the attribution Jayaswal, *JBORS*, III, p. 479, n. 15, ibid., X, p. 206 and ibid., XX, p. 295. Cf. also Ch. V below.

14 For detailed discussion on this point see Ch. IV below.

15 Jayaswal has published this unique die-struck square copper piece from the collection of the late Puran Chand Nahar (*JBORS*, XX, p 9):

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absence of a definitely known Śuṅga coinage, the attribution of this coin of unknown provenance, which is supposed to give the issuer's name in a hitherto unknown and peculiar way, is highly problematical.

The third name in the list of Śuṅga kings is Jyeshṭha, Sujyeshṭha or Vasujyeshṭha. He is said to be a son of Agnimitra in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. All the Purāṇas assign him a reign of 7 years. Jayaswal[16] identified Sujyeshṭha with Jyeṣṭhamitra of Kauśāmbī coins[17] on the grounds that Sujyeshṭha is also called Jyeshṭha in the *k Vishṇu* MS and that Jyeshṭhamitra of the said coins is also connected with an Agnimitra. But this identification is untenable, since none of the local coins can be attributed to the Śuṅgas, as shown in Ch. IV below. A coin, recently published, has been attributed to Sujyeshṭha[18]; but we cannot be sure of this attribution until a definitely assignable Śuṅga coinage comes to light.

Sujyeshṭha was succeeded, according to the Purāṇas, by Vasumitra or Sumitra[19] who is known to be a son of Agnimitra from the *Mālavikāgnimitra* which also informs us that he guarded the sacrificial horse let loose by his grandfather Pushyamitra and that he defeated a Yavana force on the banks of the Sindhu.[20] The Purāṇas unanimously assign him a reign of 10 years. His fondness for the stage brought about his doom and the *Harshacharita* which calls him Sumitra refers to his tragic end in the following way :

Obv. Ujjain symbol, Brāhmi legend, "Senāpatisa [p]it[u]pā[da](sa)".

Rev. "figure of Agni+mittasa" (in Brāhmi). The name Agnimitra is made up, according to Jayaswal, of (the figure of) Agni and (the letters) *mittasa*.

16 *JBORS*, III, p. 147, n. 15 ; and ibid., X, p. 206.

17 *BMC* (*AI*), p. 154. Pl. XX. 9.

18 *JNSI*, XVI, Part I, p. 59, Pl. V. 2. The coin is a rectangular die-struck copper piece having some similarity in fabric and style with the queer Agnimitra coin referred to in n. 15 above :

Obv. Male figure (King ?) on a prancing horse preceded by a person with water-pot (?) ; above, *Sujeṭhasa* (in Brāhmi) with a symbol on either side.

Rev. In a raised circular area, a peculiarly dressed standing figure (Lakshmi ?) being anointed by an elephant on either side.

19 The attribution of some coins with doubtful legends to this Sumitra by Jayaswal (*JBORS*, XX, pp. 7 and 301) is unwarranted.

20 *Mālavikāgnimitra* (Act V, 14), p. 153.

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"Atidayita - lāsyasya cha śailūsha - madhyam = adhyāsya mūrdhānam = asi-latayā mṛiṇālam = iv = ālunād = Agnimitrātmajasya Sumitrasya Mitradevaḥ."

[Translation : When seated amidst the actors, the head of Sumitra, who was the son of Agnimitra and was over-fond of dance-dramas, was cut off with a creeper-like sword, like a lotus stalk, by Mitradeva.[21]]

According to V. A. Smith,[22] "Mitradeva, the slayer of Prince Sumitra, probably belonged to the same powerful family, which is known to history as that of the Kānvas or Kānvāyanas." There is, however, no evidence that this Mitradeva belonged to the Kāṇva family. On the other hand, his name may suggest some connection with the Early Śuṅgas, three out of four of whom bore names ending in '-mitra'. It is also interesting to note that the later rulers of Magadha, some of whom are known from epigraphic sources (see Sec. 5 below), had similar mitra-ending names. We are not sure, at the present state of our knowledge, if this Mitradeva was a scion of the Śuṅga family and was, in any way, responsible for the establishment of the so-called Later Mitra dynasty of Magadha after the murder of the fourth Śuṅga king Vasumitra. It seems likely, however, that some sort of palace intrigues which started at this time ultimately brought about confusion and consequent decline of the Śuṅga power ; for, it is perhaps significant that the rule of the next three princes are very short, amounting in all *only 8 years.*[23] The seat of the Śuṅga power also appears to have been transferred after the murder of Vasumitra from Pāṭaliputra to some place in Central India (see Sec. 4 below).

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21 *Harshacharita*—Ed. by A. A. Führer, p. 269 (Text). The translation is kindly made by Dr D. C. Sircar. Mitradeva is replaced by Mūladeva in some MSS : cf. the two editions of the *Harshacharita*—of A. A. Führer, p. 269, n. 3 and of S. K. Pillai, p. 301. Jagannath identifies this Mūladeva (*Compr. Hist. Ind.*, II, pp. 100-101, n. 5) with Mūladeva of Ayodhyā coins (*BMC*, AI, p. 130, Pl. XVI. 11), but it is highly doubtful if Mūladeva of Ayodhyā ever had any connection with Pāṭaliputra.

22 *EHI*[4], p. 215.

23 Cf. the theory of Jagannath (*Compr. Hist. Ind*, II, p. 101) that these three names are extraneous to the Śuṅga family, which, as we have seen above (p. 48), cannot be supported.

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According to the *Matsya* and *Vāyu* Purāṇas, the fifth Śuṅga king Antaka or Andhraka was the son of Vasumitra. Different Purāṇas give different names of this king, of which "Andhraka seems most probable" to Pargiter.[24] Jayaswal[25], however, thinks that the original from which all the other names were derived was 'Odraka' and that this name is most probably given as 'Ūdāka' in the Pabhosā' cave inscription which is dated in his tenth regnal year. The inscription states that a cave was constructed by Āshāḍhasena of Adhichchhatrā, the son of Gopālī Vaihidarī and the maternal uncle of king Bṛihaspatimitra, son of Gopālī, in the tenth year of Ūdāka. Jayaswal identified this Bṛihaspatimitra with Pushyamitra and Ūdāka with Odraka (actually 'Odruka' according to *bh Vishṇu*), the fifth Śuṅga king, and maintained that Odraka was the paramount Śuṅga sovereign, while the family of Āshāḍhasena was feudatory to the Śuṅgas.[26] But the identification of Bṛihaspatimitra with Pushyamitra on the ground that Bṛihaspati is the regent of the asterism Pushyā is not acceptable.[27] Moreover, the date of the Pabhosā inscription is about the end of the first century B.C.[28]; so Bṛihaspatimitra and Ūdāka cannot be identified respectively with Pushyamitra and Andhraka who flourished in the second century B.C. N. N. Ghosh suggests that the inscription represents Āshāḍhasena as the maternal uncle of the former king (Bṛihaspatimitra) and refers to Ūdāka as the then king of the territory wherein the cave was excavated.[29] There is thus no connection of this inscription with the fifth Śuṅga king.

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24 *DKA*, p. 31, n. 18.

25 *JBORS*, III, p. 474; also cf. *CHI*, p. 521. Jayaswal's attribution (*JBORS*, XX, p. 302) of the *Kāḍasa* coins [*BMC(AI)*, p. 145, Pl. XXX. 14] to Ūdāka is untenable.

26 *JBORS*, III, pp. 474-77. As the fifth Śuṅga king is given a reign of 2 years by most of the Purāṇas (only *a'n Matsya* giving 7 years), Jayaswal thinks that he had actually a reign period of 2+7 (i. e. 9) years and that the Pabhosā inscription was dated in his last (?), i. e. 10th year.

27 E. J. Rapson (*CHI*, p. 537, n. 1), R. P. Chanda (*IHQ*, V, pp. 496-97), B. M. Barua (ibid., VI, p. 23) and D. C. Sircar (*SI*, p. 97, n. 1) have shown the absurdity of the identification of Pushyamitra with Bṛihaspatimitra, if Ūdāka is taken as the fifth Śuṅga king. Cf. also Allan, *BMC (AI)*, p. xcviii and Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*[6], pp. 373 f.

28 See Sircar, *SI*, p. 97.

29 *EHK*, p. 44. Barua (*IHQ*, VI, p. 23), however, points out that "in the

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Some scholars[30], on the other hand, identify the fifth Śuṅga with king Bhāgabhadra mentioned in the Besnagar Garuḍa Pillar inscription of his fourteenth regnal year. The inscription states that a Greek ambassador named Heliodorus, an inhabitant of Taxila and a convert to Bhagavatism, came from the Greek king Antialcidas to the court of Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra, while the latter was prospering in his fourteenth year. Thus Bhāgabhadra who had a fairly long reign of at least fourteen years and who was powerful enough to command the presence of an ambassador from the Greek king Antialcidas, must have been a king of some importance. But, most of the Purāṇas assign a period of only 'two' years to the fifth Śuṅga king whose name is not even handed down correctly.[31] The identification of Bhāgabhadra with the fifth Śuṅga king is therefore practically untenable.

Nothing in particular is known of the next two rulers, Pulindaka and Ghoshavasu.[32] Pulindaka was the son of Bhadraka, Antaka or Andhraka according to the *Bhāgavata*, *Matsya* and *Vāyu* Purāṇas, while Ghosha is said to be a son of Pulindaka in the *Vāyupurāṇa*. Pulindaka and Ghoshavasu are each assigned a reign of three years. Some of the *Matsya* MSS omit Ghoshavasu, while others call him Yomegha. Jagannath, however, excludes Andhraka, Pulindaka and Ghoshavasu (or the fifth, sixth and seventh kings) from the Śuṅga dynasty, taking Andhraka and Pulindaka as Āndhra princes ruling at Pāṭaliputra and Ghoshavasu as identical with the Pañchāla king Bhadra-

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absence of the word *rājño* preceding *Udākasa*, it is difficult to say at once whether Udāka is the personal name of a king or the local name of the place where the cave was excavated."

30 J. Marshall, *A Guide to Sāñchi*, p. 11, n.; R. P. Chanda, *IHQ*, V, p. 610; H. C. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*[5], pp. 393 f.; and D. C. Sircar, *SI*, p. 90, n. 4.

31 *a*[1]*n Matsya* alone assigns him a reign of 7 years: *DKA*, p. 31, notes 18 and 19; also see table above. None of the variant names given by the Purāṇas, except perhaps Bhadra and Bhadraka, has any similarity with the name Bhāghabhadra of the Besnagar inscription.

32 Some coins are attributed by Jayaswal to Pulindaka and Ghoshavasu. The coins of Mūladeva of Ayodhyā are ascribed to Pulindaka (*JBORS*, XX, p. 304). Ghoshavasu is first identified with Bhadraghosha of Pañchāla coins (Ibid., III, p. 479, n. 15; cf. also *PHAI*[5], p. 392 and *Compr. Hist. Ind.*, II, p. 131), then with Dharaghosha of Audumbara coins (*JBORS*, XX, p. 290). But these fanciful identifications are not tenable.

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ghosha. But as we have seen above (p. 48), this view is difficult to accept.

The eighth Śuṅga king who is known to all the Purāṇas as Vajramitra[33] is described by the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* as a son of Ghosha. He is ascribed a reign of 9 years by the *Matsya* and 7 years by the *Brahmāṇḍa* Purāṇas, while most of the *Vāyu* MSS are silent in this respect (only the *eVāyu* assigning him a reign of 14 years).

The ninth Śuṅga king was Bhāgavata or Samābhāga, whose relationship with Vajramitra is not given in any of the Purāṇas. He is generally identified with Bhāgavata of another Besnagar Garuḍa Pillar inscription of his twelfth regnal year[34]. D. C. Sircar has, again, identified him with king Bhāgavata of the Barli (Ajmer District) fragmentary stone inscription.[35] The long thirty-two years' reign of the ninth Śuṅga prince Bhāgavata indicates that he was capable enough to establish peace and prosperity for a time before the downfall of the Śuṅga dynasty.

To the last Śuṅga king Devabhūti or Devabhūmi,[36] a son of Bhāgavata or Samābhāga according to all the Purāṇas, is assigned a reign of 10 years. He appears to have been a pleasure-seeking youth who fell a victim to a conspiracy hatched by his

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33 Jayaswal identified Vajramitra first with Indramitra of Pañchāla coins (*JBORS*, III, p. 472, n. 15), and then with Ajamitra of Audumbara coins (ibid., XX, pp. 296 and 305). But these identifications are also farfetched and unacceptable.

34 Jayaswal (*JBORS*, III, pp. 479-80, n. 15) and Bhandarkar (*JBBRAS*, XXIII, p. 106) at first identified the ninth Śuṅga king Bhāgavata with Bhāgabhadra of the Besnagar inscription of his Year 14, but after the discovery of this inscription, Bhandarkar (*ASR*, 1913-14, p. 190) identified the ninth Śuṅga king with this Bhāgavata. Cf. also H. C. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*[6], pp. 393 f.

35 *JBRS*, XXXVII, p. 36. Some silver coins (*BMC, AI*, p. 123, Pl. XIV. 16), so far attributed to the Audumbaras (but which should actually be assigned to the Vemakis, as shown in Ch. IX, Sec. 1 below) were ascribed by Jayaswal to the ninth Śuṅga king Bhāgavata because of the wrong reading of the legend as *Bhāgavata Mahādevasa rājaraña*. But, as pointed out by S. K. Chakrabortty, (*NS*, XLVI, p. N 73), the proper reading of the legend should be *bhagavato* (not Bhāgavata), referring thereby to the 'god' (*bhagavān*) Mahādeva (not a king called Bhāgavata). Cf. also *AIU*, p. 161, n. 4.

36 The coins of Devamitra of Ayodhyā are ascribed to him by Jayaswal (*JBORS*, III, p. 479, n. 15), but this is not acceptable.

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minister Vasudeva Kāṇva, which fact has been referred to in the following Puranic passage :

Amātyo Vasudevas = tu bālyād = vyasaninaṁ nṛipam ।
Devabhūmiṁ = ath = otsādya Śuṅgaṁ tu bhavitā nṛipaḥ ॥

[Translation : Then *amātya* Vasudeva will become king after having extirpated the Śuṅga king Devabhūmi who was a debauch from his boyhood.][37]

Bāṇa in his *Harshacharita* corroborates the Puranic account with a few more details of Devabhūti's inglorious end :[38]

"Ati-strī - saṅgam = anaṅga - paravaśaṁ Śauṅgam = amātyo Vasudevo Devabhūtiṁ sva-dāsī-duhitrā devī-vyañjanayā vigata-jīvitam = akārayat."

[Translation : In a frenzy of passion, the over-libidinous Śauṅga Devabhūti was, at the instance of his *amātya* (minister ?) Vasudeva, reft of his life by a daughter of his own slave woman disguised as his queen.]

The line of the Śuṅgas thus came to a violent and ignominous end. But even after the murder of Devabhūti by Vasudeva Kāṇva, the Śuṅga power was not totally extinct. This is evident from the following Puranic passage :

Kaṇvāyanam ath = oddhṛitya Suśarmāṇaṁ prasahya tam ।
Śuṅgānāṁ ch = āpi yach = chhishṭaṁ kshapayitvā balaṁ tadā ॥
Sindhuko hy = Andhra-jātīyaḥ prāpsyat = īmāṁ vasundharāṁ ॥

[Translation : Then, after having extirpated Kāṇvāyaṇa Suśarman by force and thereafter having also exterminated whatever remained of the Śuṅgas' power, Sindhuka of the Andhra race will verily obtain this earth.][39]

This shows that some princes of the Śuṅga family continued to rule contemporaneously with the Kāṇvas till both the powers were overthrown by the Andhras.

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37 *DKA*, p. 33 and p. 34, n. 6 (text, according to *n Matsya*). [The translation has kindly been made by Dr D. C. Sircar]. The variant reading of the second line, *Devabhūmim tath=otpāṭya Śuṅgeshu bhavitā nṛipaḥ*, meaning that Vasudeva Kāṅva 'will become king among the Śuṅgas', has created much fanciful speculations about the Śuṅgas after the murder of Devabhūti, and is apparently due to scribal error.

38 *Harshacharita* (ed. by S. K. Pillai), p. 301 (text). Translation by Cowell and Thomas (but amended according to text), p. 193.

39 *DKA*, p. 38 (text, according to the *Vāyupurāṇa*). [The translation is by Dr D. C. Sircar.] We prefer the reading *ath=oddhṛitya* to *tato bhṛityāḥ* which makes Sindhuka (variantly Śiśuka) and his fellow-tribesmen 'the servants of Śuśarman'.

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The theory advocated by R. G. Bhandarkar[40] that the Kāṇvas ruled contemporaneously with the imperial Śuṅgas, like the Peshwas with the rulers of Śivāji's house in modern times, not uprooting the dynasty of their masters but reducing them to the character of nominal sovereigns, cannot be maintained in view of the definite statement of the Purāṇas that Vasudeva Kāṇva became king by murdering the last Śuṅga monarch Devabhūti or Devabhūmi.

3. *The Kāṇvas*

According to all the Purāṇas, the Śuṅgas ruled for 112 years. Thus, if Pushyamitra came to power about 185 B.C., the murder of the last Śuṅga king Devabhūti or Devabhūmi and the consequent establishment of Kāṇva power took place sometime about 73 B.C.

From the *Matsyapurāṇa*[41] we learn that the Kāṇvāyanas were Brāhmaṇas. The dynasty consisted of four kings, viz. Vasudeva, his son Bhūmimitra, his son Nārāyaṇa and his son Suśarman, who reigned for 9, 14, 12 and 10 years respectively.[42] The total duration of the rule of the dynasty is given as 45 years by all the Purāṇas, which number also agrees with the aggregate of reigns given variously by the different Purāṇas.

Our information about the Kāṇvas, derived solely from the Puranic statements, is very meagre. No inscription or coin of any Kāṇva king has yet been discovered. Certain coins of the Pañchāla fabric bearing the name of one Bhūmimitra[43] are ascribed by some scholars to the second Kāṇva king of that name.[44] But the identification of Bhūmimitra of the Pañchāla coins with Būmimitra Kāṇva cannot be accepted. For, the issuers of the distinctive series of Pañchāla coins must have belonged to one dynasty, and no particular ruler of the group

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40 *Early History of the Deccan*, 2nd Edn. in *Bomb. Gazetteer*, I, Part II, p. 153. For Smith's criticism of Bhandarkar's view see *EHI*[4], p. 215.

41 *DKA*, p. 35 (text) and p. 71 (trans.).

42 According to the *Matsyapurāṇa* ; the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* gives the reign periods as 5, 24, 12, and 4 respectively : see *DKA*, p. 34, notes 10, 15 and 21.

43 *BMC (AI)*, p. 198, Pl. XXVIII. 4.

44 Jayaswal, *JBORS*, III, p. 479, n. 15 ; ibid., XX, p. 308 ; and Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*[6], p. 398.

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can be singled out. The names of other kings, as found on the Pañchāla coins have no connection with any other ruler of the Kāṇva dynasty. Moreover, the Kāṇva kings are not known to have ever ruled in Pañchāla.

The Kāṇva rule, as the Purāṇas say, was brought to an end by Andhra Simuka (variantly Sindhuka or Śiśuka) along with whatever remained of the Śuṅga power (see p. 56 above).

A ruler named Sarvatāta is known from the Ghosuṇḍī stone inscription of about the end of the first century B.C.[45] to have been a devotee of Vāsudeva and Saṁkarshaṇa and a performer of the horse-sacrifice. J. C Ghosh[46] seeks to identify this ruler with one of the Kāṇva kings, viz. Suśarman, as he finds traces of the first and last letters *sa* and *na* of the word after Sarvatāta, which, in his opinion, is an epithet of the king. But his identification of the patronymic Gājāyana with the Gādāyana or Godāyana of the Kāṇvāyana *śākhā*, found in the text books on the *Gotras* and *Pravaras*, is highly doubtful. Moreover, we know practically nothing about the actual extent of Kāṇva dominions, so that it would be presumptuous to hold that the Kāṇvas ruled over Nagarī in the Chitorgarh District of Rajasthan, where the inscription was found. It is more probable that Sarvatāta was a local ruler of the Chitorgarh region.[47]

4. Capital and Extent of the Dominions of the Later Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas.

We have seen that Pushyamitra ruled from Pāṭaliputra, and most probably held territories upto Śākala in the north-west and the Wardha in the south. But there is very little evidence to determine the actual extent of the dominions of Pushyamitra's successors or their seat of power. For, there is nothing to show that Magadha continued to be held by the Later Śuṅgas.

Ayodhyā was ruled even during the second half of the first century B.C. by a prince named Dhanadeva, who claimed descent from Pushyamitra ; but we are not sure if the Ayodhyā rulers still acknowledged the suzerainty of the Later Śuṅgas. On the contrary, the viceroy of Ayodhyā who evidently did not belong to the main Śuṅga line appears to have taken the first

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45 *SI*, p. 91.
46 *IHQ*, IX, p. 795.
47 Cf. D. C. Sircar, *SI*, p. 92, n. 1.

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opportunity to waive aside his allegiance to the house of Pushyamitra very soon after his death. The local coinage of Ayodhyā which started about the second half of the second century B. C.[48] indicates that the Ayodhyā rulers were practically independent and none of the kings known from coins can be identified with any of the Śuṅga rulers whose names are given in the Purāṇas.

The local coinage of Kauśāmbī also shows that an independent dynasty was founded there about the latter part of the second century B.C.[49] Although attempts have often been made to identify Agnimitra and Jyeshṭhamitra of the Kauśāmbī coins with Agnimitra and Sujyeshṭha respectively of the Śuṅga dynasty, these identifications are highly untenable.[50] There is no evidence to show that the Kauśāmbī rulers belonged to the Śuṅga family or that the Later Śuṅgas ruled there. Some Kauśāmbī coins reveal the existence of a king named Agarāja[51] who may probably be identified with Āgaraju, the father of Dhanabhūti of the Bhārhut inscription.[52] The absence of the royal title before the name of Āgaraju of the inscription may be explained by the fact that it was incised at a time when his father king Viśvadeva was still ruling. A clay sealing of Dhanabhūti has also been discovered in Kauśāmbī.[53] He seems to be identical with the Dhanabhūti of the Bhārhut inscription, for neither the seal nor the inscription describes him as 'king'. It thus appears that the family of king Viśvadeva ruled somewhere in the Kauśambī region, quite adjacent to Bhārhut. The mention of the Śuṅga rule in the Bhārhut epigraph is usually interpreted as signifying that Viśvadeva and his successors who are supposed to be the local rulers of Bhārhut were feudatories of the Later Śuṅgas.[54] If, however, the princes belonging to

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48 See *BMC(AI)*, pp. lxxxvii ff. and 129 ff. for Ayodhyā coins, and Ch. V, Sec. 2 below for the local history of Ayodhyā.

49 See *BMC (AI)*, pp. xciv ff. and 148 ff. for Kauśāmbī coins and Ch. V, Sec. 1 (A) below for the history of Kauśāmbī.

50 See p. 50 and n. 13 (Agnimitra) and p. 51 and notes 16-17 (Jyeshṭhamitra) above.

51 *JNSI*, IV, p. 15, Pl. I. 17 ; ibid., p. 138, Pl. XII. 10-11 ; ibid., XIII, p. 198, Pl.VIII. 21 ; and ibid., XXII, pp. 131-32, Pl. VI. 21.

52 *SI*, p. 89.

53 *JNSI*, XXVI, p. 5 and ibid., XXVII, p. 188.

54 E. J. Rapson, *CHI*, I, pp. 523-24, followed by other scholars.

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the family of king Viśvadeva were actually rulers of Kauśāmbī, it would follow that the Kauśāmbī kings acknowledged the supremacy of the Śuṅgas. But the inscription simply states that a certain gateway was constructed by Dhanabhūti, son of Āgaraju, and grandson of king Viśvadeva, 'in the kingdom of the Śuṅgas' (*Suganaṁ raje*, i.e. *Śuṅgānāṁ rājye*). The donor Dhanabhūti in usual course refers to the ruling authority of the country where he makes the benefactions, and this does not signify that his family owed the allegiance of the Śuṅgas.[55] We have thus no definite evidence to show that the kingdom of Kauśāmbī was included within the dominions of the Later Śuṅgas.

The Pañchāla rulers, most of whom bear mitra-ending names as known from coins, are very often identified with the Śuṅgas, and Agnimitra and Bhadraghosha of the Pañchāla coins are regarded as identical with Agnimitra and Ghosha or Ghoshavasu respectively of the Śuṅga dynasty.[56] But it will be seen below (Ch. IV) that none of the Pañchāla rulers can be identified with any of the Śuṅgas, and in the absence of proper evidence, it is highly doubtful if Pañchāla was ever included within the Śuṅga dominions.

Nor is there anything to show that the Mathurā rulers belonged to the Śuṅga family or that they owed any allegiance to the Later Śuṅgas. The dynastic issues that were in circulation from the latter half of the second century B.C. indicate that all the four kingdoms of Ayodhyā, Kauśāmbī, Pañchāla and Mathurā had slipped out of the control of the successors of Pushyamitra and were practically independent.

Vidiśā, however, seems to have been ruled by the Śuṅgas from the beginning. Agnimitra, a viceroy of his father Pushyamitra, ruled there practically independently. Since the Purāṇas also mention the Śuṅgas as one of the ruling dynasties of

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55 Cf. the Pabhosā inscription of Āshāḍhasena, prince of Adhichchhatrā, who dates his record in the tenth regnal year of Ūdāka, the local king of Kauśāmbī, where the donation is made. This does not indicate that Āshāḍhasena was a feudatory of Ūdāka.

56 See p. 50 and n. 13, and p. 54, n. 32 above for the supposed identifications of Agnimitra and Bhadraghosha of the Pañchāla coins with the Śuṅga kings, and Ch.IV below for the question of the identification of the Pañchāla Mitras with the Śuṅgas.

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Vidiśā,[57] it probably continued to be ruled by the Śuṅga princes after Agnimitra.

There can be no doubt that the Bhārhut area, i.e. the Satna-Rewa region of the Madhya Pradesh acknowledged the Śuṅga overlordship in the first century B.C., and if Bhāgavata of the Besnagar inscription as well as that of the Barli (Ajmer District) fragmentary inscription can be identified with the ninth Śuṅga king of the same name, it may be held that the Later Śuṅga dominions extended as far as the Ajmer area in Eastern Rajasthan.

The utmost that can be said with some amount of certainty is, therefore, that the successors of Pushyamitra exercised their sway over the northern parts of Madhya Pradesh including Eastern Malwa, and probably parts of Eastern Rajasthan. There is no means to determine if the local ruling families of the kingdoms of Ayodhyā, Kauśāmbī, Pañchāla and Mathurā belonged to the Śuṅga stock or if they ever acknowledged some sort of vague supremacy of the Later Śuṅgas[58]. The view that "the end of the nominal suzerainty of the Śuṅgas was probably brought about by a joint invasion of the rulers of Mathurā and Pañcāla, aided by Greek forces, either mercenary troops, or led by a Greek King" sometime after the death of Pushyamitra[59] rests upon a different interpretation of a certain passage in the *Yugapurāṇa* section of the *Gārgīsaṁhitā* which, however, involves some difficulties.[60] Again, the theory that the Śuṅga empire after Pushyamitra was divided into several independent Śuṅga kingdoms like Magadha, Ayodhyā, Kauśāmbī, Pañchāla and Mathurā with their

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57 Cf. the Puranic passage, *Śuṅgānaṁ tu kulasy=ānte Śiśunandir=bhavishyati* in connection with the dynasties of Vidiśā, *DKA*, p. 49.

58 According to R. P. Chanda, the Bhārhut inscription indicates that during the Later Śuṅga period the Śuṅga empire had no recognised head, but was transformed into a sort of loose federation of principalities ruled by princes of the Śuṅga family (*IHQ*, V, pp. 608 ff.). He suggests that Bhāgabhadra and Bhāgavata might have belonged to an offshoot of the Śuṅga family ruling at Vidiśā, while the main line ruled at Pāṭaliputra (ibid., p. 611).

59 R. C. Majumdar, *JNSI*, XXII, p. 53.

60 For the *Yugapurāṇa* passage in question see p. 22 above. As noted in p. 23, n. 5 above, the expression *Pañchālān Mathurāṁ* of Kern's MS is replaced by *Pañchālā Mathurāḥ* in other MSS, which makes the Pañchālas and Māthuras joint invaders of Sāketa along with the Yavanas. But D. C. Sircar has shown that the reading of Kern's MS is more reliable (*JRAS*, 1963, p. 10).

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headquarters at Vidiśā[61] is based on the assumption that the contemporary local rulers of these places, most of whom had mitra-ending names, belonged to the Śuṅga family. But we have got no evidence in support of this view.[62]

About the capital of the Later Śuṅgas we have got very little knowledge. It is highly doubtful if Pāṭaliputra continued to be the seat of their power when it is questionable if Magadha itself was included within their territory. Moreover, had the Later Śuṅga dominions extended as far as Ajmer, it seems unlikely that they could have held their sway over that region from distant Pāṭaliputra, when the intermediate kingdoms of Ayodhyā, Kauśāmbī, Pañchāla and Mathurā were practically independent. Again, it is most likely that after the murder of Devabhūti Śuṅga by Vasudeva Kāṇva, the Later Śuṅga capital continued to be held either by the Kāṇvas themselves or by the so-called 'remnants of the Śuṅgas' who ruled contemporaneously with the Kāṇvas. We know that both the powers were in their turn overthrown by the Andhras. Now, as the Andhras were a Deccan power, and as we have no reliable evidence of the Andhra rule at Pāṭaliputra, it seems unlikely that they could have ousted either the Kāṇvas or the Śuṅgas who survived Devabhūti, had either of them ruled at Pāṭaliputra. Thus, Pāṭaliputra does not appear to have been the capital of Devabhūti and his immediate predecessors. The same may be said about Ayodhyā, Kauśāmbī,[63] Ahichchhatrā or Mathurā. That the Śuṅga capital had to be shifted from Pāṭaliputra very soon after Pushyamitra's rule appears probable, but when, where and why we do not know. The murder of the fourth king Vasumitra might have been the occasion when the Śuṅgas were ousted from Pāṭaliputra. Mitradeva, the assassinator of Vasumitra, probably became the founder of a new 'Mitra' dynasty at Pāṭaliputra, since a number of rulers with mitra-ending names are known to us from epigraphic records.[64]

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61 K. D. Bajpai, *JNSI*, XXVI, pp. 1 ff.

62 The question if the so-called Mitras can be identified with the Śuṅgas has already been discussed by the present author in *JNSI*, XX, pp. 123 ff. The views expressed there have since been somewhat revised : cf. Ch. IV below.

63. K. D. Bajpai who supposes that Pushyamitra shifted his capital to Kauśāmbi 'which continued to be an important centre of the Śuṅgas' (*JNSI*, XXVI, p. 1) has not given any evidence in favour of his view.

64 See Sec. 5 below.

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According to some scholars, Vidiśā was the capital of Pushyamitra's sucessors.[65] But this supposition is mainly based on the interpretation of a certain expression occurring in a corrupt MS of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*,[66] and on the identifications of Bhāgabhadra and Bhāgavata of the Besnagar inscriptions with the fifth and the ninth Śuṅga kings respectively as noted above. Even if Bhāgavata could be identified with the ninth Śuṅga monarch, it is highly doubtful if Bhāgabhadra was identical with the fifth prince of the Śuṅga line. Had Vidiśa been the capital of the last Śuṅga Devabhūti, the Kāṇvas who ousted him would have also ruled there. But the Purāṇas do not mention the Kāṇvas amongst the dynasties of Vidiśā. On the other hand, one Śiśunandi, who cannot be identified with any of the known Kāṇva kings, is said to have ruled at Vidiśā after the end of the Śuṅga rule there.[67] Thus, although Vidiśā might have been ruled by the Śuṅga princes, we are not sure if it was the 'capital' of the Later Śuṅgas.

The only undoubted evidence of Later Śuṅga rule is at Bhārhut in the northern part of Madhya Pradesh and we have to seek for their capital in this region. It is not at all unlikely that Bhārhut itself was the centre of the Later Śuṅga power. It is possible that during the period of anarchy and confusion that followed the murder of Vasumitra, his successors shifted their capital to Bhārhut, and the rule of four of them ended within a short period of only 17 years.[68] Bhāgabhadra might have been the contemporary Śuṅga ruler of Vidiśā, who, taking advantage of the weakness of the kings of the main Śuṅga line, ruled there quite independently. Since he did not belong to the main line, he is not mentioned in any of the Purāṇas, although he might have been a Śuṅga prince of a collateral branch. In fact, the power and prestige of Bhāgabhadra who ruled at least for fourteen years grew much more in importance than that of the insignificant princes of the main Śuṅga line ruling at Bhārhut. Vidiśā, a great centre of Bhagavatism, even

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65 Cunningham, *CAI*, pp. 79-80 ; and Raychaudhuri, *Ind. Cult.*, VI, pp. 409 ff.

66 See pp. 35-36 above.

67 Cf. n. 57 above.

68 See the table in p. 47 above.

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invited foreign ambassadors like the Greek Heliodorus.[69] The ninth Śuṅga king Bhāgavata who ruled for long 32 years seems to have revived to some extent the power of the Śuṅgas and brought Vidiśā under his own control sometime after Bhāgabhadra's rule. Bhāgavata's successor Devabhūti was murdered by Vasudeva Kāṇva who brought about the end of the main Śuṅga line. But as indicated by the Purāṇas, the Śuṅgas were not altogether wiped out; some members of the family appear to have maintained their not so glorious existence at Vidiśā, while the Kāṇvas probably began to rule from Bhārhut, the former seat of the Later Śuṅgas. It is perhaps these insignificant and unnamed successors of Devabhūti at Vidiśā,[70] who have been termed 'the remnants of the Śuṅgas' by the Purāṇas. The Andhras, then a rising power in the Deccan, whose earliest known territories extended over the northern part of Maharashtra, were not slow in ousting the so-called 'remnants of the Śuṅgas', and the Kāṇvas respectively from the neighbouring regions of Vidiśā and Bhārhut. Śiśunandi who is described by the Purāṇas as the successor of the Śuṅgas at Vidiśā was probably an Andhra governor.

As to the capital and extent of the dominions of the Kāṇvas, we are more in darkness, for not a single document of the Kāṇva kings has yet been discovered anywhere. If the Śuṅgas could not have ruled from Pāṭaliputra, Ayodhyā, Kauśāmbī, Ahichchhatrā or Mathurā, it is still more doubtful if the Kāṇvas could have ruled from any of these places.[71] None of the local rulers of these places known either from epigraphs or from coins can be identified with any of the Kāṇva kings.

Assuming that Vidiśā was the capital of the Later Śuṅgas, H. C. Raychaudhuri suggested that the Kāṇvas also continued to rule there, as the Kāṇvāyana mayor of the palace gained power by ousting the last Śuṅga king Devabhūti.[72] According to him,

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69 Cf. the Besnagar inscription of Heliodorus of the fourteenth year of Bhāgabhadra, *SI*, p. 90.

70 Some recently discovered coins probably reveal the names of some local rulers of Vidiśā (*JNSI*, XXII, p. 132 and ibid., XXV, p. 104). See Ch. III, Sec. 4 below for the attribution of the coins.

71 Some coins discovered at Kauśāmbī are said to bear the legend *kaṇvasya* (?) and are attributed to the Kāṇvas (*JNSI*, XXVI, p. 2, n. 3), but we have great doubt about the reading.

72 *Ind. Cult.*, VI, p. 412.

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the epithet *praṇata-sāmantāḥ* as applied to the Kāṇvas in the Purāṇas[73], shows that they extended their sway over certain neighbouring regions. Identifying Bhūmimitra of the Pañchāla coins with the second Kāṇva king of that name he presumed that one possible direction towards which the Kāṇva power spread itself was Ahichchhatrā in the north. And, since the Andhras are called 'servants of Suśarman' in some of the Purāṇas[74] and since the earliest Andhra inscriptions are found in the Nasik region,[75] another direction of the expansion of the Kāṇva power is taken to be towards the south, extending over the earliest Andhra territories. But as we have seen, there is no evidence of the Kāṇva rule at Vidiśā, nor can Bhūmimitra of the Pañchāla coins be identified with the second Kāṇva king of that name. Again, there are variant readings of the Puranic passage in question and we have accepted the version of the *Vāyupurāṇa*, which makes a better sense, and according to which there is no mention of the Andhras as 'servants of Suśarman'.[76]

Since the Kāṇvas were ousted by the Andhras who were a Deccan power, we have to seek for the seat of the Kāṇva power somewhere in the southern region of Madhyadeśa and the northern part of the Deccan, near the earliest known territories of the Andhras. If Bhārhut was the capital of the Later Śuṅgas as suggested above, it might as well have continued to be the stronghold of the Kāṇvas till they were overthrown by the Andhras.

The early Andhra coins of 'Western Malwa fabric' with the legend, *Raño Siri Sātasa*[77], and an inscription on the southern gateway of Stūpa I of Sāñchī, mentioning king Śātakaṛṇi[78], may suggest the early extension of Andhra (Śātavāhana) power

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73 *DKA*, p. 35.

74 Ibid., p. 38, according to the *Matsyapurāṇa*.

75 Cf. the Nasik cave inscriptions of the time of Kṛishṇa (*SI*, p. 183), and Nānāghāt cave figure-label inscriptions of the time of Śātakarṇi I (ibid., p, 194).

76 See p. 56 and n. 39 above.

77 He is generally identified with king Śātakarṇi I, see *BMC* (Andhra), pp. xcii and p. 1, Pl. I. 1-2.

78 Generally identified with king Śātakarṇi II, see Marshall, Foucher and Majumdar, *MS*, I, p. 277; R. P. Chanda, *MASI*, I, p. 8; and D. C. Sircar, *SI*, p. 207, n. 7.

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over that region, most probably after the extirpation of the Kāṇvas and the 'remains of the Śuṅgas.'

5. *The Later History of Magadha*

The history of Magadha after Pushyamitra is shrouded in obscurity. Assuming that Pāṭaliputra continued to be the capital of the Later Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas, Jayaswal held that the Andhras, who overthrew them, also ruled there, for about 50 years, after which Magadha passed into the hands of the Lichchhavis.[79] As to the Later Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas, we have already seen that nothing is known about their rule in Magadha. Nor is there any reliable evidence of Andhra[80] or Lichchhavi rule there towards the beginning of the Christian era. On the other hand, the little light that epigraphic sources throw on the history of Magadha during this period leads to the conclusion that it was ruled by some of the so-called Mitras in the first century B.C. The absence of a characteristic type of inscribed coinage of Magadha does not necessarily indicate that there was no Mitra dynasty in Magadha.[81] The Śuṅgas, the predecessors of the Mitras of Magadha, are not also known to have issued any inscribed coinage, and the 'Mitras' might have continued the tradition of the Śuṅgas. Two of the Mitra rulers of Magadha, viz. Indrāgnimitra and Brahmamitra, are known from the Bodh Gayā dedicatory inscriptions of their respective queens, Kuraṅgī and Nāgadevī,[82] while one Bṛihaspatimitra is known

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79 *HI*, pp. 112 ff. Jayaswal's supposition is based on a statement in the Nepal inscription of Lichchhavi Jayadeva II dated in Harsha Year 153 (=758 A.D.) that his ancestor Supushpa was born in the city of Pushpapura (i.e. Pāṭaliputra) 23 generations before Jayadeva I (c. 330 to 355 A.D.), thus placing Supushpa about the beginning of the Christian era.

80 Smith thinks that the Andhras might have held Magadha as a dependency, as the Andhra coins have much affinities with the coinages of the North; but he also admits that there is little evidence supporting such a conjecture (*EHI*[4], p. 216). Again, B. Bhattacharya has cited the authority of the *Kaliyugavṛittānta*, a section of the *Bhavishyottarapurāṇa*, showing that Magadha was being ruled by king Chaṇḍaśri Śātakarṇi and his son Pulomā, on the eve of the rise of the Guptas (*JBORS*, XXX, pp. 1 ff.). But R. C. Majumdar (*IHQ*, XX, pp. 345 ff.) has challenged the authenticity of the Purāṇa text, as quoted by Bhattacharya.

81 The author's previous view (*JNSI*, XX, pp. 125 f.) is now modified.

82 *ASR* 1907-08, pp. 40 and 225; ibid., 1908-09, p. 147; and *IHQ*, VI, pp. 1 ff,

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from the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela to be the contemporary ruler of Magadha.[83] The name-ending of these three rulers suggests that they belonged to the same dynasty. We do not know when this dynasty began to rule in Magadha. It is not improbable that this Mitra dynasty was founded by Mitradeva, the assassinator of the fourth Śuṅga king Vasumitra (see pp. 51-52 above). The connection of Mitradeva and his successors with the Śuṅgas is not known.

Indrāgnimitra and Brahmamitra are usually identified[84] with Indramitra of the Pañchāla coins (some of which have also been found at Pāṭaliputra)[85] and Brahmamitra of the Mathurā coins[86] respectively. But these identifications are doubtful.[87] For, there is no reason why the same name should be written as 'Indramitra' on the coins and 'Indrāgnimitra' in the inscription. Again, from mere identity of name, we cannot be sure if Brahmamitra of the Bodh Gayā inscription was the same person as his namesake of the Mathurā coins. It is no doubt probable for a queen of a different kingdom to dedicate gifts in a distant place of pilgrimage like Bodh Gayā; but, in that case, the inscription should probably have mentioned the name of the reigning king of the particular country where the donation was made.[88] But, since both Indrāgnimitra and Brahmamitra are mentioned as kings only and since no other king is referred to, it is more likely that both of them were rulers of the country where the inscriptions are found.

There is no means to determine the chronology of these two kings. As the inscriptions of both Kuraṅgī and Nāgadevī seem to be almost contemporaneous documents, B. M. Barua

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83 *SI*, p. 206.

84 Marshall, *ASR* 1907-08, pp. 40 and 225; T. Bloch, ibid., 1908-09, p. 147; Rapson, *CHI*, pp. 525-26; and Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*[6], p. 392.

85 For Indramitra's Pañchāla coins see *BMC* (*AI*), p. 203, Pl. XXIX. 2; for his coins found at Pāṭaliputra see *ASR* 1912-13, pp. 84-85, Nos. 6, 10, 19 and 20.

86 *BMC* (*AI*), p. 173, Pl. XXV. 12.

87 Cf. Allan, *op. cit.*, p. cxiii.

88 Cf. the Pabhosā cave inscription of Āshāḍhasenaa, No. 2 (*SI*, p. 98). As the cave was constructed within the kingdom of Kauśāmbi, the donor Āshāḍhasena who was a prince of Adhichchhatrā referred to the regnal year of Ūdāka, the contemporary king of Kauśāmbi. Similarly, Dhanahhūti in his Bhārhut inscription refers to the Śuṅgas (who were the ruling authority of the Bhārhut area), since his grandfather Viśvadeva was probably a king of Kauśāmbi.

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suggests[89] that Indrāgnimitra might have preceded Brahmamitra : for, the former's queen Kuṛṅgī is depicted as an elderly lady, the mother of living sons (*jīvaputrā*), and honoured in fifteen rail-post inscriptions with the epithet *Ayā* (Āryā, i.e. noble lady or matron), while Brahmamitra's queen Nāgadevī was not yet a mother but only a wife (*pajāvatī*). Barua thinks that the donations were made by Kuraṅgī rather when she became a queen-dowager to King Brahmamitra than when she remained in her full glory as the queen of King Indrāgnimitra. But nothing can be said definitely on that point. Now, Khāravela's contemporary Bṛihaspatimitra seems to have flourished about the second half of the first century B.C. And as the Bodh Gayā inscriptions are generally considered to be somewhat earlier than the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela[90], Indrāgnimitra and Brahmamitra can be placed about the first half of the first century B.C.

This Bṛihaspatimitra is again usually identified[91] with king Gopālīputra Bṛihaspatimitra mentioned in the Pabhosā Cave inscription (No. 1) and Bṛihaspatimitra of the Kauśāmbī coins.[92] The identification of Bṛihaspatimitra of the Pabhosā cave inscription with his namesake of the Kauśāmbī coins is quite possible, and there is also no chronological difficulty in identifying him with the Magadha king of that name, contemporary of Khāravela. In that case, Bṛihaspatimitra would figure as a mighty king having his sway over Magadha as well as a part of Kauśāmbī. The achievements of Khārvela, the contemporary

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89 *IHQ*, VI, p. 20.

90 Cf. R. P. Chanda, *MASI*, I, pp. 14-15 ; B. M. Barua, *IHQ*, VI, p. 21 ; and N. G. Majumdar, *MS*, I, pp. 271-72 and 275-77. Majumder is of opinion that the Bodh Gayā and Bhārhut inscriptions are of about the same period, and dates them about 100 to 75 B.C., while he fixes the dates of the Sāñchi inscription of Śātakarṇi (II) on the south gate of Stūpa I and the Hāthigumphā inscription about 50 B.C.

91 Cf. Jayaswal, *JBORS*, III, pp. 473 ff. ; B. M. Barua, *IHQ*, VI, p. 23 ; and D. C. Sircar, *SI*, p. 97, n. 3. For his suggested identification with Pushyamitra see p. 40 above.

92 He is identified with Bṛihaspatimitra II of the Kauśāmbī coins by Allan in *BMC(AI)*, pp. xcviii and 151, Pl. XX. 2. Some Pañchāla coins bearing the name of one Bṛihaspatimitra are noticed by V. A Smith (*IMC*, p. 185), but we do not know if he can be identified with his namesake of the Kauśāmbī coins.

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king of Kaliṅga who claims to have compelled Bṛihaspatimitra to bow down at his feet becomes, therefore, all the more conspicuous. Since Bṛihaspatimitra is explicitly called a king of Magadha (*Māgadhaṁ cha rājānaṁ*), there can be no doubt that he belonged to a Mitra family of Magadha itself.[93] Whether his power extended as far as Kauśāmbī (and Pañchāla) cannot, however, be definitely determined until further evidence is forthcoming.

The next epigraphical notice that we get for the Magadha region is the Kailvan (Patna District) inscription of Ārya Viśākhamitra, in the year 108 (of the Śaka era) corresponding to A.D. 186.[94] There is thus a gap of about two centuries after Bṛihaspatimitra, and we do not know if his successors continued to hold Magadha during that period.[95] As already noted, some coins of the Pañchāla type bearing the name of Indramitra have been found in the Pāṭaliputra excavations. They might have been brought there in course of commercial transactions, for it is difficult to hold from the discovery of a few stray coins that Pāṭaliputra came under the sway of the Mitra rulers of distant Pañchāla. The discovery of a clay seal with the inscription *Mokhalinam* in the Gayā District[96] may indicate that the Gayā region came under some Maukhari chiefs at a certain period, but the exact date is not known nor do we know if these Maukhari chiefs were in any way connected with the Maukharis of Baḍvā in the former Kotah State of Rajasthan where four yūpa inscriptions dated in the third century A.D. have been found.[97]

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93 K. D. Bajpai thinks that the Mitras known from epigraphs of the Magadha region were actually rulers of Kauśāmbī and not of Magadha, major part of which, according to him, was under the sway of the Kauśāmbī kings : *JNSI*, XXVI, p. 2. But, as we have seen, they were actually rulers of Magadha, not of Kauśāmbī, Pañchāla or Mathurā.

94 *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 229 ff.

95 A sealing of one Agnimitra is found in the Kushāṇa strata of the Vaiśālī excavations in 1958-59 (*IAR* 1958-59, p 12). If this Agnimitra was a ruling prince, he cannot be identified with Agnimitra-Śuṅga, as the seal was found in the post-Śuṅga strata. We do not know if he is to be identified with any of the Agnimitras of the Pañchāla and Kauśāmbī coins, or if he belonged to the Mitra dynasty of Magadha.

96 See *CII*, III, p. 14 ; and *PHAI*[6], p. 400 and n. 2.

97 *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, pp. 42 ff. and ibid., XXIV, pp. 251 ff.

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The discovery of a number of Kushāṇa copper coins from the Bihar region[98] may not prove its inclusion within the Kushāṇa empire. But the Chinese and Tibetan traditions referring to Kaṇishka's successful expedition towards Pāṭaliputra[99], coupled with the traditions regarding the rule of the Muruṇḍas of Śaka nationality in the Bihar region about the second century A. D. as known from Ptolemy[100], and the spread of the Kaṇishka era in that area as suggested by the Kailvan inscription of Ārya Viśākhamitra, may provide some ground to hold that Kushāṇa power extended upto Pāṭaliputra in the east, at least for some time. The 'Maroundai', a foreign people whose country is referred to in Ptolemy's Geography are the same as the 'Muruṇḍas' of Indian history and tradition ; they seem to have occupied an extensive territory, probably the whole of upper Bihar including upper Bengal as far as the head of the delta. They might have been originally viceroys under the Kushāṇa suzereigns but seem to have taken the earliest opportunity of carving out an independent principality with the decline of the imperial supremacy of their masters. Two such governors, viz., Vanaspara and Kharapallāna are known from inscriptions to have been in charge of the eastern provinces of the Kushāṇa empire.[101] While narrating the dynasties of the 3rd century A.D., the Purāṇas refer to one Viśvasphāṇi as the ruler of the Māghadhas.[102] The name suggests that he was of foreign origin. According to some scholars,[103] the Kushāṇas were in possession of Magadha right up to the close of the 3rd century A.D. But, even if Kushāṇa power extended up to Pāṭaliputra, their rule could not have been of

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98 *PHAI*[6], p. 473 ; *JNSI*, XII, pp. 121 ff. ; and ibid., XIII, pp. 144 ff. See also introduction, p. 13 above.

99 *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 142 ; *Ind. Ant.*, XXXII, p. 382 ; *CII*, II, pp. lxxii and lxxv ; Cf. *PHAI*[6], p. 473, and n. 5.

100 *Ind. Cult*, I, pp. 386 ff. ; R. C. Majumdar, *The Classical Accounts of India*, pp. 377 and 381, n. 87 ; and *BMC* (*Gupta*), p. xxix. Cf. also the expression *Śaka-Muruṇḍa* in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta (*SI*, p. 258 and n. 2). According to Sten Konow, however, *Śaka-Muruṇḍa* here signifies 'Śaka chief'.

101 Cf. Sārnāth Buddhist image inscriptions, *SI*, pp. 132, n. 4. and p. 133. See also *AIU*, p. 141.

102 *DKA*, p. 52 (according to *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* Purāṇas).

103 Smith, *EHI*[4], pp. 291-92 ; Allan, *BMC* (*Gupta*), pp. xvi, xxvi ; and R. D. Banerji, *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 2.

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long duration and must have terminated by 186 A.D. when Magadha was probably re-occupied by the indigenous dynasty and was ruled by Ārya Viśākhamitra as an independent king. His connection with the earlier Mitras of Magadha can only be conjectured. No other ruler of this dynasty is so far known.

The fragmentary passage in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta reading *daṇḍai=rgrāhayat=aiva Kotakulajaṁ Pushpāhvaye krīḍatā*[104] had led Jayaswal to think that the Kota family was ruling at Pāṭaliputra till the rise of the Guptas.[105] But actually the passage means that the person who was playing at Pushpāhvaya, i.e. Pushpapura or Pāṭaliputra, when the scion of the Kota family was captured by the army of Samudragupta was Samudragupta himself; hence the question of a member of the Kota family ruling at Pāṭaliputra[106] at that time does not arise. On the other hand, the importance attached to the Lichchhavi alliance by the Guptas on their coins and inscriptions[107] probably suggests Lichchhavi occupation of Magadha immediately before the rise of the Guptas, although there is no direct evidence to prove it. With the rise of the Guptas, however, the dark chapter in the history of Magadha ended, and its glory was revived after more than three centuries.

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104 *SI*, p. 256, l. 14; cf. ibid., n. 2.

105 *HI*, pp. 112 ff.

106 Cf. "the rude copper coins with Śiva and bull on the obverse, and the monogram reading Kota", which "are common in the Delhi bazaar and in the Eastern Panjab" (*IMC*, pp. 258, and 264, No. 1). These coins are, however, comparable to the coins of Toramāna, hence they appear to be of a somewhat later date.

107 Cf. the legend *Lichchhavayaḥ* on the so-called Chandragupta-Kumāradevi type of Gupta gold coins, *BMC* (*Gupta*), Pl. III. 1-5, and the expression *Lichchhavi-dauhitra*, as applied to Samudragupta in the Allahabad pillar inscription, *SI*, p. 259, l. 29 See also *EHI*[4], pp. 292, 295 and 296.

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Chapter III

Rise of Petty States in Various Localities : Autonomous Towns and Cities

The gradual decline of the Magadhan empire after the Mauryas was followed by the rise of various petty states throughout Northern India. Coins issued by these states constitute the main source of our information for their history, supplemented sometimes with a few inscriptions. These states may be classified under three broad heads, according to the nature of the legends on their coins, which are of three categories :—

(1) Coins bearing names of important cities, probably issued by some autonomous city corporations ;

(2) The dynastic issues of monarchical states in Madhyadeśa, bearing names of rulers ; and

(3) The tribal coins of *jānapada* or *gaṇa* states of the Punjab and Rajasthan areas, issued in the names of particular tribes, sometimes with those of the tribal chiefs added to them.

We shall first deal with the important towns, the names of which we get from some of the earliest inscribed coins of this period. They are : Vārāṇasī, Kauśāmbī, Vidiśā and Erakiṇa, Bhāgila (?) and Kurara, Ujjayinī, Tripurī and Māhishmatī. The dates of the coins bearing the names of the cities, as suggested by scholars, range from about the end of the third to the beginning of the first century B.C. Now, considering the cases of Ayodhyā and Kauśāmbī, where the 'city-issues' were followed by the 'dynastic issues', it may probably be generally held that coins bearing names of particular cities were a little earlier than those bearing names of rulers. And as the fashion of inscribing coins with the ruler's name generally came into vogue after the advent of the Indo-Greeks[1] and as some of the local inscribed coins of Taxila bearing the legend *Hirañasame* were imitated by the Greek ruler Agathocles[2] about the second quarter of the second century B.C., the earliest of the local inscribed

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1 Cf. *AIU*, p. 159.

2 Cf. *PMC*, p. 18, Pl. II. 51 and 52 ; also *BMC* (*AI*), p. cxxxii.

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coins may be taken to have been issued not long before the beginning of the second century B.C.

It is significant that almost all the cities, the names of which we get from coins of this period, were situated on river banks—in the belt of land between the Ganges and the Narmadā. The prosperity of the cities naturally depended upon trade and commerce. After the fall of the Mauryas, when foreign supremacy was established in the North-West, trade and commerce with the Kabul valley became increasingly difficult. But, by sea, commerce with the outside world still continued through the Indus delta, and the ports on the west coast were connected with Pāṭaliputra, the former imperial capital, through Ujjayinī, a great emporium of the period.[3] And, along the line that connected Pāṭaliputra with Ujjayinī, lay the cities of Vārāṇasī, Kauśāmbī and Erakiṇa, while the cities of Māhishmatī, Gonarda Ujjayinī, Vidiśā, Kauśāmbī, Sāketa, Śrāvastī and others were connected by a route from Pratishṭhāna to Vaiśālī.[4]

It appears that with the weakening of the imperial power, important mint-towns of the empire, which formerly produced punch-marked coins with apparent local variations but bearing a common imperial stamp, now took upon themselves to strike independent coinages of their own. Since some of these coins bore the names of the respective places (i.e. former mint-towns), it would be natural to hold that the places concerned gained some sort of local autonomy during the period. And as the approximate date of some of these coins falls during the reign period of Pushyamitra whose sway extended over Madhyadeśa, it is probable that he did not interfere with the autonomy of these city corporations and the issue of their respective coinages.

Patañjali who is supposed to be a contemporary of Pushyamitra, mentions the names of important towns situated in Madhyadeśa and on its borders during his time. They are: Pāṭaliputra, Kāśī or Vārāṇasī, Sāketa, Kauśāmbī, Kānyakubja (Kanauj), Saṁkāsya (Sankisa in the Etah District), Śrughna (Sugh on the old Jamunā), Mathurā, Ahichchhatrā, Hastināpura, Madhyamikā, Ujjayinī, Māhishmatī and others.[5] Of these, coins

3 Cf. *CHI*, pp. 516-17.

4 For the roads from Pratishṭhāna to Vaiśāli see *Pārāyaṇa* of the *Sutlanipāta*, vv. 1011-13 in Sircar, *GAMI*, p. 206.

5 See *JBBRAS*, XXVII, pp. 38 ff.

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bearing the names of the cities of Vārāṇasī, Kauśāmbī, Māhishmatī, Ujjayinī and Madhyamikā are known. The earliest uninscribed cast coins of Ayodhyā are also of the nature of city-coins. Of Kanauj, Mathurā and Ahichchhatrā also local coins are known, although they do not bear their names. The earliest local inscribed coins of Taxila, probably issued by trade guilds, may also be mentioned in this connection.[6] The nature of the legends *Kāḍasa*, *Vaṭāśvaka*, *Upagoda* and *Upātikyā*, as read on some early coins,[7] is not yet ascertained. It is, therefore, very difficult to say if these legends refer to names of cities, rulers or tribes.

1. Ayodhyā, Sāketa and Śrāvastī.

The three great cities of Ayodhyā, Sāketa and Śrāvastī were included in the ancient kingdom of Kośala, corresponding roughly to modern Oudh. Kośala was bounded on the east by the Sadānīrā, on the south by the Sarpikā or Syandikā (Sai) river, on the west probably by the Gumti and on the north by the Nepal hills.[8] H. C. Raychaudhuri refers to other Kośalas which are distinguished from Kośala proper.[9]

The city of Ayodhyā now lies in the Fyzabad District. The antiquity and importance of the city go back to the age of the *Rāmāyaṇa* when it was the capital of the kingdom of Kośala. According to the epic tradition, it was situated on the banks of the river Sarajū (modern Ghagra or Gogra) and covered twelve *yojanas*.[10] Rhys Davids points out that Ayodhyā had sunk to the level of an unimportant town during the time of the Buddha,[11] although the kingdom of Kośala was one of the sixteen great states of the time. Both Sāketa and Śrāvastī were then included

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6 These are paralleled in the *Kaviśiye nagaradevatā* coin of Eucratides I (*PMC*, p. 26, Pl. III. 131) and the *Pakhalavati-devatā* coin of the Indo-Scythians (*CHI*, p. 557, Pl. VI. 10), which bear the names and figures of the respective city-deities of Kapiśā and Pushkalāvatī.

7 *BMC(AI)*, p. 145, Pl. XIX. 14 ; ibid., p. 264, Pl. XXXIX. 2 ; ibid., p. 263, Pl. XXXV. 18 ; and ibid., p. 263, Pl. XXXV. 19.

8 *Rāmāyaṇa*, II. 49. 11-12 and 50. 1 ; VII. 104. 15 (Cf. *PHAI*[6], pp. 77, 99 and n.l).

9 Cf. *PHAI*[6], p. 78 and notes 2-3 ; *Mahābhārata*, II. 30. 2-3, 31. 12-13 and 20. 28.

10 *Rāmāyaṇa*, I. 55. 7 ; Cf. *PHAI*[6], p. 78, n. 4 and pp. 99-100. The figure, however, seems to be a legendary exaggeration.

11 *BI*, p. 25.

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amongst the six great cities of India.[12] Sāketa, identified with the ruins at Sujan Koṭ on the Sai river in the Unao District, is often supposed to be identical with Ayodhyā ; but Rhys Davids points out that both the cities existed in the days of the Buddha, and were probably adjoining to each other like London and Westminster.[13] Śrāvastī, identified with modern Set-Mahet was situated on the borders of the present Gonda and Bahraich Districts on the south bank of the Achiravatī or Rāptī.[14] It was the capital of Kośala at the time of the Buddha and the residence of Prasenajit, the Buddha's contemporary on the throne of Kośala.[15]

As already noted, some early types of uninscribed cast coins are known to have been found at Ayodhyā.[16] Because of the occurrence of a steel-yard in Type 3 of these coins, comparable with the steel-yard on some of the local coins of Taxila, Allan regards these Ayodhyā pieces as local coins of the city, as distinct from the dynastic issues which followed them.[17] Since these coins are uninscribed, their date may be conjectured to be about the end of the third or the beginning of the second century B.C.[18]

Of Sāketa, no coins are known, but the existence and importance of the city towards the beginning of the second century B.C. is indicated by its siege by the Yavanas, as referred to in the *Yugapurāṇa* and the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali.[19] From the site of Śrāvastī have been discovered some coins which are probably inscribed, though the legend is illegible.[20] We thus see that Ayodhyā, Sāketa and Śrāvastī were all in a flourishing state during the second century B.C.

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12 Ibid., pp. 28-29.

13 Ibid., p. 28.

14 *AGI*, p. 469 and *PHAI*[6], p. 100.

15 *BI*, pp. 2 and 29.

16 Four types of copper coins are known ; three types are round [*BMC(AI)*, p. 129, Pl. XVI. 6, 7 and 10] and one type is square (ibid. p. xxxviii and *JASB* 1880, Pl. XVII. 16 B).

17 Cf. *BMC(AI)*, p. lxxxviii, and Pl. XXXI. 2 (Taxila coin).

18 Allan dates these coins about the third century B.C. (ibid., p. lxxxvi).

19 For the *Yugapurāṇa* passage see Ch. I, pp. 22-23 and n. 5 above ; and for Patañjali's reference to Sāketa, see Mahābhāshya, (on Pāṇini, I, 3, 25. var. 1), Vol. I, p. 281, and (ibid., III, ii, 111, var. 2), Vol. II, p. 119.

20 *JNSI*, XIII, p. 143, Pl. VII. 9 ; cf. *BMC(AI)*, p. 285, Pl. XLVI. 7.

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2. Vārāṇasī.

Vārāṇasī is well-known as one of the most important cities of ancient India, and is said to have extended about twelve leagues.[21] Its celebrity dates from the Later Vedic age down to the age of the *Mahājanapadas*, when it was the capital of the kingdom of Kāśī, one of the most powerful of the sixteen *Mahājanapadas*. The rivalry between Kāśī and Kośala resulted in the incorporation of the former into the latter and ultimately into the Magadhan empire. Several Kāśī monarchs are mentioned in the *Jātakas* and the Brahmanic literature.[22] Patañjali mentions the city sometimes as Kāśī and sometimes as Vārāṇasī.[23]

The site of Vārāṇasī as well as Sārnāth near it have yielded a type of uninscribed cast coins which, though also unearthed during the excavations at Pāṭaliputra, Besnagar, Rajgir and Taxila, are chiefly found about Vārāṇasī.[24] S. Singh Roy has published two coins collected by him in 1944 from the ruins of Rajghat near Vārāṇasī, which are said to bear the legend *Vārāṇas*[ī] in characters of the first century B.C.[25] The second coin is supposed to give also the name of the issuer, which is not distinct.

These coins as well as the discovery, during the 1940 excavations at Rajghat, of a sealing inscribed in Gupta characters with *Vārāṇasy-adhishṭhān-ādhikaraṇasya*, i.e., '[the seal] of the city-administration of Vārāṇasī', have proved that the site of ancient Vārāṇasī is represented by Rajghat, situated on the north-eastern outskirts of the modern city of Vārāṇasī.[26] Further excavations in 1957-58 have brought to light six periods of human occupation, ranging in date from the 6th-5th centuries B.C.,

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21 *BI*, p. 25 ; *PHAI*[6], p. 96 and notes 2-3.

22 *PHAI*[6], pp. 74-77 and 97-98.

23 Cf. *JBBRAS* XXVII, p. 39 for Kāśi (*Mahābhāshya*, Vol. II, p. 413) and ibid., p. 41 for Vārāṇasi (*Mahābhāshya*, Vol. I. pp. 216 and 301). According to Rājaśekhara, Vārāṇasi marked the western boundary of Pūrvadeśa , cf. *GAMI*, p. 173, n. 2.

24 Var. *i* of uninscribed cast coins in *BMC(AI)*, pp. lxxvii and 88, Pl. XI. 8 ; also *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 110-11.

25 *JNSI*, XII, pp. 134-35, Pl. XI. 5-6. The legends are not clear in the plates.

26 *IAR* 1957-58, p. 50. The city derived its name from its situation between the rivers Varaṇā and Asi (*BI*, p. 25).

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to the 17th century A.D.[27] In the deposits of Period II (2nd century B.C. to 1st century A.D.), were found five terracotta seals bearing the name of 'Revatimita' in letters of the 2nd-1st centuries B.C. and one of 'Pushamita' or 'Agamita' in characters of the 1st century A.D., as well as some uninscribed cast copper coins. Another seal, bearing the device of a couchant humped bull and the inscription *pushkarana* or *puskharata* in characters of the 2nd-3rd centuries A.D., and some round copper coins were found from the dig of Period III (2nd to 4th century A.D.). It is difficult to determine if the seals belonged to rulers or officers in charge of the city-administration.

3. Kauśāmbī

Kauśāmbī was the capital of the ancient kingdom of Vatsa, one of the sixteen *Mahājanapadas* of the Buddha's time. According to the epic tradition, this famous city was founded by a Chedi prince and the Purāṇas state that, when the city of Hastināpura was washed away by the Ganges, Nichakshu, the great-great-grandson of Janamejaya, abandoned it, and removed his residence to Kauśāmbī.[28] The Buddha's contemporary in Vatsa was king Udayana, the hero of the *Svapnavāsavadattā*.[29] The phrases *Nir-Vārāṇasī* and *Nish-Kauśāmbī* appear several times in the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali in the sense of one who has gone out of Vārāṇasī or Kauśāmbī.[30] Kauśāmbī was the most important mart for both goods and merchants coming to Kośala and Magadha from the south and west.[31]

Cunningham's identification of the site of Kauśāmbī with modern Kosam on the Jumna, some 30 miles south-west of Allahabad, is now generally accepted.[32] This identification has been confirmed by the discovery of four coins from this site with

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27 *IAR* 1957-58, p. 50.

28 *Rāmāyaṇa*, I. 32. 3-6 and *Mahābhārata*, I. 63. 31 (Cf. *PHAI*[e], p. 131 and n. 6).

29 *PHAI*[e], pp. 131 and 133; and *BI*, p. 2.

30 *Mahābhāshya* (on Pāṇini, I. 2. 44 and 14. 1), Vol. I, pp. 216 and 301; cf. *JBBRAS*, XXVII, p. 39.

31 *BI*, p. 26.

32 *CASR*, I, pp. 361 f.; *Ep. Ind*, II, p. 244; *ASR* 1921-22, pp. 120 f.; 1923-24, pp. 172-74; *CHI*, p. 524, and *BMC(AI)*, p. xciv. For various locations formerly proposed for Kauśāmbī see Cunningham, *AGI*, p. 709.

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the inscription *Kosa[ṁ]bi*.[33] It has also yielded a great variety of uninscribed cast coins with a distinct type of the locality.[34] As the general types of the coins inscribed with the place-name are those of the early cast uninscibed pieces, they may be of about the same period and may roughly be ascribed to the early part of the second century B.C.[35] The variety and number of coins found at Kauśāmbī testify to its importance as a commercial centre.

"The remains at Kosam, include those of a vast fortress with earthen ramparts and bastions, four miles in circuit, with an average height of 30 to 35 feet above the general level of the country".[36] Recent excavations at the site of Kauśāmbī since 1953-54, have revealed the flourishing condition of the city and the continued occupation of the site from the sixth century B.C. to the sixth century A.D.[37] At a distance of two or three miles to the north-west of Kosam, stands the holy hill of Pabhosā, the famous shadow-cave described by Hiuen Tsang.[38]

4. *Vidiśā and Erakiṇa*

Vidiśā and Erakiṇa or Eran were two important cities of the ancient kingdom of Daśārṇa or Ākara, i.e. Eastern Malwa. Of them, Vidiśā was the capital of Ākara and is represented by the modern village of Besnagar near Bhilsa in Madhya Pradesh.[39]

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33 *ASR* 1924-25, p. 131, Pl. XXXVIIId. 3; *BMC(AI)*, pp. xcviii-ix; and *JNSI*, IX, pp. 9-10, Pl. III. 1. The coins are of the following types: *Obv.* Elephant to left on pedestal, with triangle-headed standard, six-armed whorl, Ujjain symbol and wavy line on four sides, legend above, *Kosambi*; and *Rev.* Tree in railing, Ujjain symbol, six-peaked hill, tank with 4 fishes, etc. For other coins of different types, said to bear the legends, *Kosambi*, *Kosambiya*, or *Kasabikanam*, see *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 140, Pl. II. 9-10 and ibid., XXV, p. 20, Pl. I. 2.

34 See *BMC(AI)*, pp. 148-49, Pl. XX. 13.

35 Allan seems to date these coins about the third century B.C. [*BMC(AI)*, p. xcvi].

36 *IGI*, XV, p. 407; cf. *CHI*, p. 524.

37 Cf. *IAR* 1953-54, p. 9; 1954-55, pp. 16-18; 1955-56, pp. 20-22; 1956-57, pp. 28-29; 1957-58, pp. 47-49; and 1958-59, pp. 46-47.

38 *CHI*, p. 524.

39 Cf *CAMI*, p. 34, n. 2 and p. 91.

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Some twenty-one coins in the cabinet of Mohant Ghasidas Memorial Museum of Raipur (purchased from a coin-collector of Vidiśā) are stated to bear on the obverse the symbol of an eight-spoked wheel and on the reverse the legend *Vedisa* (Skt. Vaidiśa) or *Veddasa* in Brāhmī characters of about the early second century B.C.[40] The legend apparently refers to the city of Vaidiśa or Vidiśā[41], thus indicating that Vidiśā was one of the flourishing cities of the early post-Mauryan period.

The importance of Vidiśā—political as well as cultural—rose to its height during the Śuṅga period. Since the time of Agnimitra's rule there, it continued to be a stronghold of the Śuṅga power till its final extinction by the Andhras. During the Later Śuṅga period, the rising glory of Vidiśā overshadowed the splendour of the former imperial capitial Pāṭaliputra. Inscriptions discovered at Besnagar and Ghosuṇḍī proclaim the early rise of Bhagavatism in these regions. The fame of Vidiśā spread far and wide, so much so that it attracted foreign ambassadors like Heliodorus from the court of the Indo-Greek king Antialcidas of North-Western India. Although Bhagavatism had no patron like Aśoka to make missionary propaganda, it claimed this notable *Yavana-dūta* amongst one of its early converts.

Vidiśā was also renowned as a great centre of fine arts. "It was the ivory-workers of Vidiśā," says Foucher, "who carved, in the immediate vicinity of their town, one of the monumental gates of Sāñchī."[42] Amongst the benefactors of the *stūpa* of Sāñchī, are represented the inhabitants of Māhishmatī, Ujjayinī and Vidiśā.[43] Notable persons from Vidiśā also figure amongst the donors of the Bhārhut railings.[44] The coins bearing the

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40 See *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 307. Cf. the 'wheel' symbol with that on Nāga coins.

41 Vedisa, i.e. Vaidiśa, meaning 'the city of Vidiśā' (not an inhabitant of Vidiśā') occurs in Sāñchī and other inscriptions (cf. *Ep.Ind.*, II, p. 102). 'Vaidiśa' is also found in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* (cf. *Vaidiśastham putram* etc. in Act V, 15, as quoted at p. 36 above) and in the copper-plate inscription of the Kalachuri king Buddharāja, issued from Vaidiśanagara (V. V. Mirashi, *CII*, IV, Pt. I, pp. 47 ff.).

42 Cf. *PHAI*[6], p. 397.

43 Cf. *GAMI*, p. 214.

44 Cf. *A Guide to the Sculptures of the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, p. 87, No. 108, p. 88, No. 119, p. 93, Nos. 291 and 302. The donors are evidently private personages, and not rulers, as supposed by K. D. Bajpai (*JNSI*, XXVI, p. 2. n. 1), since no royal title precedes the names in question.

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name of the city of Vidiśā testify to its commercial prosperity and its importance as a mint-town.

The Puranic chronology with regard to the dynasties of Vidiśā is somewhat confused. The Nāgas, who are known to have come to power in the Mathurā-Padmāvatī region about the second half of the second century A.D.[45] are enumerated as pre-Śuṅgan kings of Vidiśā. After the end of the Śuṅga domination, Vidiśā is said to have passed under the rule of Śiśunandi, his younger brother Nandiyaśas, and three other princes of his line. It is also said that Śiśuka, the daughter's son of Nandiyaśas became king in Purikā.[46]

Even though the order of succession of the dynasties of Vidiśā as stated in the Purāṇas is somewhat faulty, it is possible that the enumeration of the dynasties as such is based on facts. It is known from another Puranic passage that the Andhras put an end to the "remains of the Śuṅgas' power," thereby referring most probably to the unknown successors of Devabhūti, who continued to hold their precarious existence at Vidiśā after the murder of the last Śuṅga king, as stated above.[47] Śiśunandi might have been a governor appointed by the Andhras after their conquest of Vidiśā. It is curious that Śiśuka is also the name of the first Andhra king, according to some of the Purāṇas. "It is not improbable," says Raychaudhuri, "that the two Śiśukas are identical, and that after overthrowing the Śuṅgas, Śiśuka (Śimuka of the Inscriptions) annexed Purikā but placed Vidiśā under his maternal relations."[48] The Nāgas most probably came to power at Vidiśā after putting an end to Andhra rule there.

Some coins recently discovered from Vidiśā have brought to light names of some rulers[49], none of whom can, however, be identified with any of the Vidiśā princes, as known from the Purāṇas. The coins are of various types and do not show any

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45 See Ch. XIII, Sec. 4 below.

46 Cf. *DKA*, p. 49. Several donors from Purikā are mentioned in the Bhārhut railing inscriptions : cf. *A Guide to the Sculptures of the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, p. 86, No. 69, p. 88, No. 132, p. 91, No. 252 and p. 93, No. 293b.

47 See p. 64 above.

48 Cf. *PHAI*[4], p. 330.

49 See *JNSI*, XXII, p. 132, Pl. VI. 22-23, and ibid., XXV, p. 104, Pl. II. 5. The names are read as Śivagupta and Sakhadeva.

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distinctive local feature, as discerned on the coinages of Ayodhyā, Kauśāmbī, etc. It is, therefore, difficult to ascertain to whom these coins belonged—to the local rulers of Vidiśā or to different princes of neighbouring regions.

"Eran is an old decayed city on the south bank of the Bina river, sixteen miles above its junction with the Betwa, fifty miles to the north-east of Bhilsa, and forty-five miles west-north-west from Sāgar."[50] It is mentioned in the Sāñchī inscriptions as Erakiṇa.[51] Its importance is shown by the inscriptions including those of Samudragupta, Budhagupta and Toramāṇa found at the site. The old form of the name 'Airikiṇa' or 'Erikiṇa' is preserved in the inscriptions of Samudragupta and Toramāṇa.[52] These two inscriptions refer to Airikiṇa or Erikiṇa as a *pradeśa* or a *vishaya*.[53] The political as well as the commercial importance of Eran is proved by the distinct series of coins ascribed to it.

The coinage of Eran, as pointed out by Cunningham, offers specimens of the four different classes of the old Indian money—punch-marked, cast, die-struck and inscribed.[54] Rapson traces in the coinage of Eran the development of the punch-marked system into the type system.[55] A series of fine punch-marked copper coins are ascribed to Eran.[56] The earliest Indian inscribed coin with the name of its issuer 'Dharmapāla' was found at Eran.[57] The discovery of three coins inscribed with the

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50 *CAI*, p. 99.

51 *MS*, I, p. 314, No. 145.

52 *SI*, pp. 262 and 396.

53 Jayaswal knows two other villages named Eran in E. Malwa, within 20 miles from Bhilsa, which fact shows, in his opinion, that Eran was the name of a territory. He thinks that the place derived its name from its founder Airaka, the name of a Nāga in the *Mahābhārata*, and suggests some connection of the Airakinas with the Nāga dynasties ruling in Vidiśā (near Eran) and other places (*Ind. Ant.*, LXI, pp. 159-60).

54 *CAI*, p. 99.

55 *IC*, p. 11.

56 *BMC(AI)*, pp. 140-44, Pl. XVIII. 16.

57 Ibid., p. 140, Pl. XVIII. 6. Allan dates the coin about the third century B.C. (ibid., pp. xci, clxiv). But coins bearing issuers' names cannot be placed so early (cf. *AIU*, p. 159).

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place-name *Erakaṇya*[58], in characters of about the second century B.C., suggests comparison with other city-coins of this period.

5. *Bhāgila (?) and Kurara*

Sometime ago, five inscribed coins were discovered near about the banks of the Narmadā, some five miles north of the village Jamunia in the Hosangabad District of the Madhya Pradesh.[59] The legend on the coins, read as *Bhāgilāya*, is supposed to bear the name of a city. The coins are dated about the third-second centuries B.C.

The location of the city is not definitely determined. But as the coins were found in the same region where several other coins with the legend *Kurarāya* are said to have been found[60], and as Kurara is mentioned in some Sāñchī inscriptions as a place-name[61], both Bhāgila and Kurara are located near about Sāñchī. We do not, however, know of any city of the name of Bhāgila from any other source. If the readings of the coin-legends are correct, and if 'Bhāgila' actually denotes a city, then both Bhāgila and Kurara would be included among the cities that flourished about the second century B.C.

6. *Ujjayinī*

Ujjayinī was one of the most famous cities of ancient India. It is situated on the Śiprā river, 16 miles to the north of Indore, and 120 miles nearly due west from Bhilsa, and much of its importance was derived from its selection by the Hindu astronomers as their first meridian or starting point for the measurement of longitude.[62] It was the capital of Western Malwa or the ancient kingdom of Avanti, which was one of the sixteen *Mahājanapadas* of the Buddha's time. The Buddha's

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58 Two coins are square and die-struck [*CASR*, X, pp. 80-81, Pl. XVIX. 16-17 and ibid., XIV, p. 149, Pl. XXXI. 17-18 : cf. *BMC(AI)*, p. xci]. The third coin is round and cast (*JRAS* 1900, p. 108, Pl. 7).

59 *JNSI*, XVI, pp. 9 ff., Pl. II. 13-17.

60 Ibid., p. 12.

61 *MS*, I, pp. 313 ff. Nos. 136, 167, 225, 227, 231, 235, *et passim* For the controversy over the actual forms of the place-names, if they are Bhāgila or Bhāgilā and Kurara or Kurarā—see *JNSI*, XIV, p. 13, n. 1.

62 *CAI*, p. 94 ; also Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 188.

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contemporary in Avanti was king Chaṇḍa Pradyota Mahāsena, the father of Vāsavadattā.[63] When Aśoka was the governor of Malwa, he resided at Ujjayinī and it was one of the viceregal seats of Aśoka's empire.[64] It is referred to by Patañjali, while many of its inhabitants are represented amongst the benefactors of the Sāñchī *stūpa*.[65] Ozene is mentioned by the author of the *Periplus* (about 80 A.D.) as having formerly been the capital of the country[66], and Ptolemy in the second century mentions it as the capital of Tiastenes, i.e., the great Satrap Chashṭana of coins and inscriptions.[67]

Ujjayinī was a great centre of trade and commerce in ancient India, and through this city passed the trade between the west and Pāṭaliputra, during the post-Maurya period. This is also implied by the great number and variety of coins discovered from this site from time to time.[68] The inscribed coins of Ujjayinī preserve the name of the city in Prakrit, *Ujeniya* in characters of the first half of the second century B.C.[69] The coins of Ujjayinī bear the figure of the celebrated deity Mahākāla (Śiva), whose temple was situated in the Mahākāla forest to the north of the city. "The figure on the coins seems to carry a club in one hand, and a water vessel in the other, both of which symbols are characteristic of Śiva."[70]

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63 *BI*, p. 2 and *PHAI*[6], p. 204.

64 *CAI*, p. 95 and Aśoka's Kaliṅga Edict I.

65 *Mahābhāshya* (on Pāṇini, III. i. 26, vār. 10), Vol. II, p. 35 and *JBBRAS*, XXVII, p. 38. For Sāñchī inscriptions, see *MS*, I, pp. 303 ff. Nos. 38, 40, 53-58, 60, *et passim*.

66 For the reference to Ozene in the *Periplus* see Schoff's translation, p. 42, and for Schoff's suggested date (c. 60 A.D.) see ibid., pp. 7 ff. R. C. Majumdar in *IHQ*, 1962, pp. 89-97, accepts the third-century date of the *Periplus*, originally suggested in 1861 by Marcel-Toussaint Reinaud and recently upheld by Jacqueline Pirenne in *JA* 1961, pp. 441-459. David W. MacDowall criticises Pirenne's veiw and suggests a date about 120-30 A. D. (*NC* 1964, pp. 271-280). D. C. Sircar holds that the Periplus was written about 80 A.D. (*JBRS*, XLIX, pp. 28-33).

67 See R. C. Majumdar, *The Classical Accounts of India*, p. 373; cf. also *CAI*, p. 95.

68 See *BMC(AI)* pp. cxli ff. and 241 ff.; *JNSI*. VIII, pp. 99 ff.; ibid., X, pp. 38 ff.; ibid., XIII, pp. 73 ff. and 209 ff.; ibid., XIV, pp. 41. ff., and ibid., XVI, pp. 61 f.

69 *BMC(AI)*, pp. cxlv and 262, Pl. XXXVII. 15.

70 *CAI*, p. 98.

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Ujjayinī is renowned as the capital of the great Vikramāditya, associated with the foundation of the era of 58 B.C. The story of a conflict between the Śakas and the indigenous rulers for the possession of the city is possibly preserved in the Jaina story of Kālaka.[71] But it is doubtful if any king named Vikramāditya really ruled from Ujjayinī in the first century B.C. It is certain that the monarch who finally crushed the Śaka power in this region was the Gupta emperor, Chandragupta II Vikramāditya. Indian tradition seems to have made a confusion between the supposed founder of the era and the famous patron of Kālidāsa, who flourished more than 400 years later.

Recent excavations of the northern outskirts of the city of Ujjain[72] have revealed the remains of a fortified citadel and a continuity of occupation on the site from a date prior to 600 B.C. to the beginning of Muslim rule in Malwa in the 14th century, divided into four successive periods, of which Period III is rather long and dates from the times of the Śuṅgas to those of the Paramāras. The discovery of a large number of unfinished beads of agate and chalcedony contained in a lidded pot on the mud-floor of a house of Period III, associated with materials for manufacturing beads, confirms the statement of the *Periplus* that Ozene (Ujjayinī) was a great emporium from which place semi-precious stones were exported to the West, *via* Broach on the Narmadā estuary. Moreover, the discovery of the manufactory of iron and bone objects, a large number of coins and a terracotta coin-mould, bearing the name and effigy of the Roman Emperor Augustus Hadrianus in the deposits of Period III[73], all go to show that Ujjayinī was a great centre of trade and commerce during that period. It seems, however, strange that no remains of the Western Satraps or the Guptas, who are known to have ruled at, or were associated with, Ujjayinī in the early centuries of the Christian era are found in the excavated sites.

7. *Tripurī*

The coins with the inscription *Tipuri* in characters of the

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71 See *CHI*, pp. 167-68 and 532-33.

72 *IAR* 1956-57, pp. 32 ff.; ibid., 1957-58, pp. 32 ff.

73 The present author who was in 1958 associated with the excavations at Ujjain actually found these objects dug up.

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early second century B.C.[74] reveal that Tripurī was also one of the cities that flourished during the post-Maurya period. It is identified with modern Tewar, a few miles away from the banks of the Narmadā[75], and 8 miles from Jabalpur on the road to Bheraghat. According to the Puranic tradition, the city derived its name from the fact that the three *asuras* known as Tripurāsura made it their capital and built three strong forts (Tri-purī) here.[76] It was also the capital of the Kalachuris in the medieval period.

The coins with the legend *Tipuri* have been discovered from the site of the city as well as far away in the Hoshangabad District and Western India.[77] This indicates its political and commercial importance during the period. Other coins, also found at Tripurī, reveal the history of this city during different periods. The punch-marked coins, the early cast copper coins, the inscribed city-coins, the coins of the Andhras, the Kushāṇas and the Western Satraps and those of the medieval dynasties are all found here. The excavations conducted at Tripurī by the Saugar University since December 1951, are expected to throw more light on the history of this important ancient city.

8. Māhishmatī

Māhishmatī is a town of great antiquity. In the earliest times, it was the capital of a powerful kingdom which included the country of *Anūpa*, located on the east of the Gulf of Cambay, north of the Narmadā and south of Saurāshtra.[78] But later on, it came under Avanti[79] which roughly corresponded to the Ujjain region, together with a part of the Narmadā valley from Māndhātā to Māheśvar and certain adjoining districts.[80] Avanti was divided into two parts by the Vindhyas, the northern part having its capital at Ujjayinī and the southern at Māhissati or

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74 *BMC(AI)*, pp. cxl and 239, Pl. XXXV. 14.

75 Ibid, p. cxli.

76 *JNSI*, XVI, p. 55. The 'Traipuras', i.e. the people of Tripurī are mentioned in the Puranic lists of Peoples : *GAMI*, p. 34 and n. 5.

77 *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 40 ff and XVI, pp. 65 ff.

78 Pargiter, *Mārk. P.*, p. 344, n. ; also *JRAS* 1910, p. 867.

79 See *JRAS* 1910, pp. 447 and 867.

80 *PHAI*[6], p. 144.

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Māhishmatī.[81] The *Mahāgovindasuttanta* mentions Māhissati as the capital of the Avantis; but the *Mahābhārata* distinguishes between the kingdoms of Avanti and Māhishmatī.[82]

Buddhist works like the *Dīpavaṁśa* and the *Mahāvaṁśa* refer to a country called the Mahisha country, Mahisharāshṭra (Mahisaraṭṭha) or Mahishamaṇḍala where Moggaliputta Tissa sent one of his Buddhist missions in the time of Aśoka.[83] The name 'Mahisha' seems to be derived from that of a people who are probably referred to as Māhishakas in the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas.[84] The Mahishamaṇḍala or the Māhishaka country is identified by some scholars with Mysore[85] and some with the country of the Māhishmakas, i.e. the *janapada* of which the capital was Māhishmatī.[86] The *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas class the Māhishakas amongst the races of the south.[87] Now, Rājaśekhara, in his five-fold division of India, locates *Dakshiṇāpatha* beyond Māhishmatī[88], which thus seems to be situated on the border of *Dakshiṇāpatha* and may or may not be included within it. D. C. Sircar suggests that there might have been more than one settlement of the Mahisha people in different parts of the country and that Māhishmatī might be one of them.[89]

The *Harivaṁśa* attributes the foundation of Māhishmatī in one place to Muchukunda, but in another place to Mahishmat who is said to be the fourth in descent from Haihaya, a scion of

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81 Ibid., pp. 144-45.

82 Ibid., p. 145.

83 *Dipavaṁśa*, 8. 1, 2 and 5; *Mahāvaṁśa*, 12. 3, 29; see *JRAS* 1910, p. 425.

84 *Bhishmaparva*, ix. 366; *Mārk. P.*, p. 333 and n.; and *GAMI*, p. 36 and n. 1.

85 *IGI*, XVIII, pp. 162, 169, 253, 261; Wilson, *Vishṇupurāṇa*, trans., Vol. II, p. 178, n. 6; *Ind.Ant.*, III, p. 273 (see *JRAS* 1910, p. 429 and notes); also D. C. Sircar, *GAMI*, pp. 191-92. D. C. Sircar shows that the Hebbata grant of Kadamba Vishṇuvarman I, Regnal year 5, indicates that the northern part of Mysore was known in ancient times as the Mahisha country.

86 Pargiter, *Mark. P.*, p. 333, n.; Fleet, *JRAS* 1910, p. 441. Cunningham in 1854 said, "this country is not known; it may be Maheswara on the Narbada" (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 117).

87 *Janapadāḥ dakshiṇāḥ* in *Bhishmaparva*, IX 366 and *janapadā dakshiṇāpatha-vāsinaḥ* in the Purāṇas; see *JRAS* 1910, p. 440; Pargiter, *Mark. P.*, pp. 331-33; and *GAMI*, pp. 29-30.

88 *Māhishmatyāḥ parato dakshiṇāpathaḥ* in *Kāvyamimāṁsā* of Rājaśekhara, G.O.S. edn., pp. 93-94; Cf. *GAMI*, p. 173, n. 2.

89 *GAMI*, p. 192.

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the Yadu family.[90] This dynasty was overthrown during the time of Arjuna Kārtavīrya who was ninth in descent from Haihaya.[91]

Patañjali's reference to Māhishmatī[92] shows that the city existed in a flourishing condition in the second century B.C. The importance of the city lay in the fact that the lines of communication between Pratishṭhāna and Ujjayinī passed through this city, as known from the *Suttanipāta.*[93] It is mentioned in the Sāñchī inscriptions as 'Māhisatī'[94] and is known from the Barwani copper-plate grant of (Gupta) year 167 (=486 A.D.)[95] and the Māndhātā plates of the Paramāra king Devapāla of V. S. 1282 (=1224 A.D.)[96], both issued from Māhishmatī. It is also mentioned in an inscription of V. S. 1856 (=1798 A.D.), which is found in the wall of a building above the Ahalyā Bāi Ghat at Māheśvar.[97]

The identification of Māhishmatī is, however, a point of dispute amongst scholars. Some identify it with Māheśvar and some with Māndhātā, both situated on the Narmadā, in the Nimar district of Madhya Pradesh. The reference to the city as Māhishmatī, in the Māheśvar inscription of V. S. 1856 shows that it came to be identified with Māheśvar by about 1800 A.D. This identification is stated as an already established point by Wilford in 1807[98] and by the compilers of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India.*[99] Kielhorn also, while editing the Māndhātā plates of Devapāla in 1907-08 accepted this identification. The local people themselves believe that Māheśvar is the same as old Māhishmatī. Support for this view is found in the *Suttanipāta*

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90 *Harivaṁśa*, xcv. 5218 ff., xxxiii 1846-47 and 1843-44 ; cf. *Mark. P.*, pp. 333, n. and 371 n. The Purāṇas also style the first dynasty of Māhishmatī as Haihaya (*Matsya*, 43, 8-29, *Vāyu* 94, 5-26) ; cf. *PHAI*[6], p. 145 and n. 6.

91 *Mahābhārata*, *Vanaparva*, cxvi. 10189, cxvii, 10204 ; *Śāntiparva*, xlix. 1750-70 ; *Harivaṁśa*, xxxiii. 1850-90 ; cf. *Mark. P.*, p. 371, n.

92 *Mahābhāshya* (on Paṇini, III. 1. 26, vār. 10), Vol. II, p. 35.

93 The *Pārāyaṇa* in the *Suttanipāta*, v. 1011 ; see *GAMI*, p. 206.

94 *MS*, I, pp. 321 ff., Nos. 213, 251-54, 256, 274-76 and 413.

95 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 261 ff.

96 Ibid., IX, pp. 103 ff.

97 *Ind. Ant.*, IV, p. 347.

98 *Asiatic Researches*, IX, p. 105.

99 *IGI*, XVII, p. 9 ; and XXI, p. 118.

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passage which places Māhishmatī on the way from Pratishṭhāna to Ujjayinī.[100] Patañjali's reference to the city also indicates that it was situated at a place which can be covered in one day's journey from Ujjayinī. All these suit well with the position of Māheśvar.

But Pargiter has drawn attention to two passages—one in the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the other in the *Harivaṁśa*, to show that this identification is not correct.[101] The *Raghuvaṁśa* passage indicates, according to him, that Māhishmatī was situated on an island in the river Narmadā and the palace looked out on the rushing stream. According to the *Harivaṁśa*, it was situated on the Narmadā at a place where the Vindhyas and the Ṛiksha mountain (the Sātpurā range) contract the valley. Pargiter thinks that these descriptions agree only with the rocky island and town of Māndhātā, containing the famous shrine of Oṁkāranātha (Śiva), and not with Māheśvar. So he identifies Māhishmatī with Māndhātā and suggests that the Brāhmaṇas of Māheśvar might have claimed the ancient glory of Māhishmatī for their town on the strength of a similarity in the names, and, in the absence of any counter-claimant, succeeded in appropriating it.[102] Fleet is also in favour of this identification and thinks that the territory belonging to Māhishmatī lay on both sides of the Narmadā, and extended on the west far enough to include Māheśvar.[103] H. C. Raychaudhuri has, however, pointed out that "Māndhātā lay to the south of the Pāriyātra Mts. (W. Vindhyas), whereas Māhishmatī lay between the Vindhya and the Ṛiksha—to the north of the Vindhya and to the south of the Ṛiksha, according to the commentator of Nīlakaṇṭha."[104]

In the light of recent archaeological discoveries also, we have probably to reconsider if the ancient city of Māhishmatī is to be located at Māndhātā or at Māheśvar. Excavations conducted on the sites of Māheśvar and Navda Toli on both sides of the Narmadā, have revealed there one of the largest

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100 Cf. also *Journ. Or. Inst.*, Baroda, X, pp. 306-7 for the identification of Māhishmatī with Māheśvar.

101 *Raghuvaṁśa*, vi, 43 ; *Harivaṁśa*, xv. 5218 ff. Cf. Pargiter, *Mārk.* P., Introduction, p. ix. and p. 333, n.

102 *JRAS* 1910, pp. 868-69.

103 Ibid., pp. 445 ff.

104 *Harivaṁśa*, II. 38. 7-19 ; *PHAI*[6], p. 145, n. 2.

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Chalcolithic settlements in Central India, followed by the remains of three historical periods.[105] One remarkable find is a coin bearing the same symbols as those on four other coins having the legend *Māhisati* [*?*] in characters of the early second century B.C., identified as the coins of the city of Māhishmatī.[106] The provenance of the two coins in the British Museum is not known ; but Allan remarks that "the general style recalls the inscribed coins of Ujjayinī."[107] The third coin was found with some Ujjain coins along the bed of the Śiprā at Ujjain and the fourth one was picked up from Māheśvar itself. The coin discovered in course of the excavations at Navda Toli may provide the fifth known specimen, as suggested by the similarity of type and fabric of this coin with those of the four other inscribed coins mentioned above. But we cannot be definite on this point, as the coin is unfortunately broken at the bottom, so that the legend, if there was any, is cut off thereby. The discovery of a well-preserved specimen with complete legend in a stratified condition will be of great value in settling the dispute about the identification of the city of Māhishmatī.

9. Taxila (Takshaśilā)

The famous city of Taxila or Takshaśilā was the capital of Eastern Gandhāra, while that of Western Gandhāra was the celebrated city of Pushkalāvatī, identified with modern Charsadda, 17 miles north-east of Peshawar.[108] Taxila is identified with modern Shah-Dheri (20 miles north-west of Rawalpindi), where the three main sites Bhir Mound, Sirkap and Sirsukh represent three stages in the history of the city.[109]

In the Vedic age, the inhabitants of Gandhāra were looked upon as a despised people ; but, later on, Gandhāra became famous as a resort of scholars of all classes.[110] Pāṇini was a

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105 *IAR* 1953-54, p. 8 ; 1957-58, pp. 30 ff. ; and 1958-59, pp. 28 ff.

106 *BMC(AI)*, p. 279, No. 3 Pl. XLV. 11 and No. 4 (Allan reads the legend as *Mahāsenasa*) ; *JNSI*, XIII, p. 74, No. 1 Pl. V. 6. These three coins are identified as the city-coins of Māhishmati in *JNSI*, XV, pp. 70 ff. For two other coins found at Māheśvar and Navda Toli see ibid., XVII, pp. 94 ff, Pl. VIII. 5-7.

107 *BMC(AI)*, pp. cliv, 187.

108 *PHAI*[5], pp. 56-60.

109 *CAI*, p. 60 ; *BMC(AI)*, p. cxxv.

110 *PHAI*[5], p. 60.

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native of Gandhāra and Kauṭilya also perhaps hailed from Takshaśilā.[111] Gandhāra was included among the Sixteen Great States of the time of the Buddha, and Pukkusāti was the contemporary ruler there.[112] In the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., it came under the sway of the Achaemenids and formed one of their richest satrapies. Afterwards, it was included in the Maurya empire and was one of its important viceroyalties with its capital at Taxila.

Thousands of coins, both uninscribed and inscribed, have been discovered from the site of Taxila.[113] The inscribed coins of the place are of three classes. Coins of Class I bear the legend *Negamā* (in Brāhmī) on the obverse and five different legends on the reverse—(i) *Dojaka* (variantly in Brāhmī or Kharoshṭhī), (ii) *Rālimasa* (in Brāhmī), (iii) *Atakatakā* (in Brāhmī), (iv) illegible, and (v) *Kadare-nekame* (in Kharoshṭhī). Class II has the legend *Pañchanekame* (in Kharoshṭhī), while Class III coins bear two variant legends in Kharoshṭhī—(i) *Hirañasame* and (ii) *Dośanasa*.

The word *Negama* (Skt. *Naigamaḥ*) has been explained differently by different scholars. According to D. R. Bhandarkar, *Naigama* denoted a kind of democracy, which was confined to a town, and the names, such as Dojaka, Tālimata (Rālimasa) Atakatakā, etc. on the reverse of the so-called Negamā coins signified that "they were really the civic coins struck by the peoples of these cities."[114] Most of the numismatists, however, do not accept this explanation. Allan takes the word, *Negama* as signifying 'trade-guild' and the 'Negamā' coins as the mercantile money-tokens issued by the various trade guilds of Taxila.[115] From expressions like *nagara-nigama-janapada* and *grāma-nagara-nigama*, Allan thinks that *nigama* was an area larger than a town, perhaps a market-district.[116] The various reverse legends in the nominative suggest, in Allan's opinion, a comparison with town-names like Ujeni, Tripurī, etc., and probably indicate that the concerned coins were the issues of different market quarters

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111 Ibid., p. 62.

112 Ibid., p. 146.

113 *BMC(AI)*, pp. cxxv ff. and 214 ff.

114 Cf. *CL*, 1921, p. 6 ; also ibid., 1918, p. 176.

115 *BMC (AI)*, p. cxxvi.

116 Ibid., p. cxxx and notes 3-4.

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or market districts with the names of Dojaka, Rālimasa, Atakatakā, etc. Hirañasama (Hiraṇyāśrama) and Dośanasa are also regarded by Allan as names of districts, the local authorities of which issued coins in the country of Taxila with some system of co-ordination from a central authority.

The majority of the coins of Taxila is, however, uninscribed. Inspite of the variety of types and legends, the coinage of Taxila forms a homogeneous group, distinct from coins of other cities, such as those of Ujjayinī. "The copper coinage of Taxila seems to have been a short-lived one, beginning late in the third century B.C. when Taxila was under the Maurya governors, and ending with the Greek conquest before the middle of the second century B.C."[117] Some of the local coins of Taxila were copied by the Greek rulers, Pantaleon and Agathocles.[118] The Greek conquest put an end to the independent career of Taxila. Henceforward it became the seat of successive foreign dynasties, viz. the Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian and Kushāṇa.

117 Ibid., p. cxxxix.

118 Ibid., pp. cxxvii and cxxxi-ii.

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PART II

MONARCHICAL STATES OF MADHYADEŚA

CHAPTER IV

THE PROBLEM OF THE 'MITRAS'

Coins bearing the names of rulers, issued from about the latter half of the second century B.C., reveal the existence of some monarchical states in Madhyadeśa, such as those at Ayodhyā, Kauśāmbī, Ahichchhatrā and Mathurā, which were respectively the capitals of the ancient *janapadas* of Kośala, Vatsa, Pañchāla and Śūrasena. Kanauj, Almora and Jagatgrām also seem to have been the seats of some local rulers about this period.

It is curious that many of the rulers known from the coins of this age, not only of the said localities but also belonging to such tribes as the Audumbaras, Kulūtas and Uddehikas, bore names ending in *mitra*. According to some scholars, all these rulers belonged to a single dynasty which they identify with the Śuṅga family, since some of the Śuṅga kings, known from the Purāṇas and other sources, also had the same name-ending and since the so-called Mitra coins are roughly assignable to the Śuṅga period.

Carlleyle and Rivett-Carnac[1] were the first to identify the 'Mitras' (then mainly known from the Pañchāla series of coins) with the Śuṅgas. Assuming that the Purāṇas do not give us correctly the names of the Śuṅga kings and that they also bore alternative names, Jayaswal sought to identify them with some of the 'Mitras' whose names he picked up conveniently from the various series of local coins.[2] And from amongst the other 'Mitras' who cannot be identified with any of the 'ten Śuṅgas', Jayaswal discovered the eight sons of Pushyamitra, of whom he found mention in the Purāṇas.[3] But Jayaswal's identifications are unscientific and far-fetched and are therefore untenable.

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1 *JASB*, XLIX, pp. 21 ff. and 87 ff.

2 *JBORS*, III, pp. 473 ff. and XX, pp. 291 ff.

3 See p. 43 above. Jayaswal assigns other unidentifiable 'Mitra' coins likewise to the relatives of Pushyamitra. See ibid., X, pp. 205-06 ; XIII, pp. 247-48 ; XV, pp. 583-84 and XX, pp. 291 ff.

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H. C. Raychaudhuri, who is in favour of some of Jayaswal's identifications, thinks that the unidentifiable names may be of those Śuṅgas who survived the usurpation of Vasudeva Kāṇva.[4] But there are numerous other 'Mitras' who flourished before the Kāṇvas and who cannot be accounted for.

Cunningham objected to the identification of the 'Mitras' with the Śuṅgas on the grounds that none of the names of the 'Mitras' excepting that of Agnimitra is found in the Puranic lists of Śuṅga kings and that the Later Śuṇgas were supposed to have their seat of power at Vidiśā, while the so-called Mitra coins were then known to have come chiefly from Pañchāla.[5] At the same time, he also pointed out the probability of the Puranic lists being erroneous and incomplete, since the name of Dhanabhūti of the Bhārhut inscription, whom he took to be a Śuṅga prince, does not occur in the Purāṇas. But we have no indication in that inscription that Dhanabhūti was himself a Śuṅga, for he refers to the Śuṅgas as the rulers of that particular region. Therefore, the question of the Puranic lists being erroneous does not arise here.

The main points of Cunningham's objections are, however, still valid. As to the identity of names, it may moreover be pointed out that although Agnimitra is the only name of the Puranic lists that occurs on coins, even the Agnimitra issues are not found at Vidiśā where Agnimitra Śuṅga is known to have ruled. And it is evident from the comparative study made below of the coins of the Agnimitras of Kauśāmbī and Pañchāla, that none of them can be identified with Agnimitra Śuṅga who flourished much earlier than either of them.[6]

Secondly, even though the Mitra coins are not now confined to the Pañchāla area alone, and are known to have come from a much wider region in Northern India, they are found neither

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4 *PHAI*[6], pp. 391-92.

5 *CAI*, pp. 79-89. Cf. also V. Smith, *IMC*, pp. 144-45 and J. Allan, *BMC*(*AI*), p. CXX.

6 See Chs. V and VII below for the date of Agnimitras of coins. Even Carlleyle and Rivett-Carnac place Agnimitra of the Pañchāla series later than some of the Mitras of that place and regard him as "one of the most recent of these kings" (*JASB*, XLIX, p. 88).

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from Vidiśā (which is usually supposed to be the capital of the Later Śuṅgas) nor from the Bhārhut region (which is known to have been ruled by them).

Besides, it may be pointed out that those Mitra coins which are assigned to the Śuṅgas do not come from any particular place like Ayodhyā, Kauśāmbī, Mathurā or Pañchāla, so that we may identify that place as the centre of the Later Śuṅga power. Names have often been suitably picked up from different series of coins and taken as those of the Śuṅga kings. But it is very difficult to think that different Śuṅga kings ruled from different places as their capitals. The greatest obstacle in the way of assigning all these different series of the so-called Mitra coins to the Śuṅgas is that they are too diverse and distinctly local in character to have any connecting link between them; hence they cannot be attributed to a single dynasty, Śuṅgan or otherwise. We may compare in this connection the various issues of the Andhra Empire, the types and symbols of which have been classified by Rapson into (1) local, (2) dynastic or (3) personal.[7] The coins of one province of the Andhra Empire varied greatly from those of another[8]; yet as Rapson has shown, "underlying all this variety there are to be recognised certain constantly recurring types, such as the '*Caitya*' and the 'Ujjain symbol', which may almost be regarded as permanent features in the coinages of the Andhra Empire."[9] Of these two symbols, while the so-called *Chaitya* (or the Mountain) symbol is widely prevalent on the coins of the Śātavāhanas as well as their feudatories, the Ujjain symbol which is conspicuously absent on the feudatory issues appears "to be the distinctive emblem of the Śātavāhanas—the Andhras proper as opposed to the Andhrabhṛtyas."[10] But, as we shall see below, no such

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7 Cf. *BMC* (*Andhra*), p. clxv.

8 For the coinages of the different provinces of the Andhra Empire see ibid., pp. lxx ff.

9 Ibid., p. clxvi. The same is the case with the earlier punch-marked coins, numerous local varieties of which bear two almost constant symbols, viz. the 'sun' and the 'six-armed symbol', which, according to Allan, were the emblems of some imperial authority, presumably that of the Mauryas: see *BMC*(*AI*), pp. xxi and lxxi-ii.

10 *BMC* (*Andhra*), pp. clxvii-iii.

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common dynastic insignia is discernible amongst the various local and tribal issues bearing mitra-ending names.[11]

Coins of Pañchāla are a distinctive series, bearing on the obverse, three characteristic symbols with the king's name in a square incuse, and on the reverse, generally the figure of a deity whose name forms a component part of the issuer's name.[12] Thirteen, out of the twenty-four early rulers of Pañchāla known from coins, had *mitra*-ending names.[13]

The characteristic types of Kauśāmbī are, all through, a bull on the obverse, and a tree-in-railing with the king's name on the reverse, together with other minor symbols.[14] Out of the twenty-two early rulers of the locality represented by coins, sixteen had names ending in *mitra*.[15]

The 'Mitra' coins of Ayodhyā are distinguished by their fabric and their reverse types which are either a 'cock on post' and a palm-tree or an elaborate *nandipada* in a framework, although their obverse type is the bull[16] as that of the Kauśāmbī coins. Five, out of the sixteen rulers of Ayodhyā, bore *mitra*-ending names.[17]

Coins of Mathurā have also distinctive types. 'Lakshmī standing between several symbols on either side and holding a lotus in her up-lifted right hand' forms the obverse type, while

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11 The bull, tree-in-railing and 'Vaidiśa cross' (i.e. the Ujjain symbol) occurring on some local and tribal coins are taken by Jayaswal (*JBORS*, XX, pp. 295 ff.) to be the Śuṅga emblems ; but since none of these three symbols is seen on the most important series of 'Mitra' coins, i. e. those of Pañchāla, ascribed to the Śuṅgas, this assumption is arbitrary and untenable.

12 *BMC(AI)*, pp. cxvi-cxvii and 192 ff.

13 They are : Agnimitra, Aśvamitra (?), Bhānumitra, Bṛihatsvātimitra or Bṛihaspatimitra, Bhūmimitra, Dhruvamitra, Indramitra, Jayamitra, Phālgunimitra, Prajāpatimitra, Sūryamitra, Varuṇamitra and Vishṇumitra.

14 *BMC(AI)*, pp. xciv and 148 ff.

15 These are Agnimitra, Bṛihatsvātimitra or Bṛihaspatimitra I and II, Īśvaramitra, Jyeshṭhamitra, Prajāpatimitra, Praushṭhamitra, Priyamitra, Rādhamitra, Rājamitra, Rajanimitra, Rāmamitra, Sarpamitra, Satamitra, Suramitra and Varuṇamitra. Two other Mitra rulers of this region, viz., Dāmamitra and Devimitra are known from inscriptions, as noted below.

16 *BMC(AI)*, pp. lxxxviii-ix and 129 ff. The figure of bull which is too common a device on Indian coins may not indicate any connection between the rulers of Ayodhyā and Kauśāmbī.

17 They are Āyumitra, Devamitra, Saṅghamitra, Satyamitra and Vijayamitra.

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the reverse depicts three elephants with riders'.[18] The names of five, out of the twelve known early rulers of Mathurā, end in *mitra*.[19]

Coins ascribed to Kanauj are, however, closely interconnected by symbols with two other series of coins which bear the appellation of 'Udehaki' or 'Sudavapa' for their issuer's name. Thus the so-called 'Ujjain symbol' appears on all the three series, while the tree-in-railing occurs on the Kanauj and Uddehika coins and the triangle-headed-standard, which finds its place on the obverse of the Kanauj and 'Sudavapa' coins, is countermarked on the reverse of the 'Uddehika' pieces.[20] But, inspite of the symbolical inter-connections, coins ascribed to Kanauj are distinctive in their fabric and shape, while the square 'Sudavapa' coins are distinguished from similar 'Uddehika' pieces by their finer fabric and more neatly incised lettering of the legends. The Kanauj and 'Sudavapa' series supply the names of three and two 'Mitra' rulers respectively, while one such is known from the 'Uddehika' coins.[21]

Even some distant Punjab tribes, such as the Audumbaras and the Kulūtas, had rulers with *mitra*-ending names. Four of them are known from the Audumbara coins[22], while two are known from the Kulūta coins discovered at Taxila.[23] The 'Mitra' coins of the Audumbaras depict on the reverse the figure of 'Kārttikeya standing with a spear' and on the obverse 'an elephant, usually with rider'.[24] The coin-types of the Kulūta 'Mitra' rulers, consist of groups of symbols, both on the obverse and on the reverse, of which the more important ones are the mountain symbol, *nandipada* and *svastika*.[25]

We thus find that no common and evident stamp of imperial

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18 *BMC(AI)*, pp. cix and 169 ff.

19 These are Brahmamitra, Dṛiḍhamitra, Gomitra, Sūryamitra and Vishṇumitra.

20 Cf. *BMC(AI)*, p. 147, Pl. XIX. 12 (Kanauj) and *JNSI*, III, p. 47, Pl. IV-A. 1-2 (Uddehika and Sudavapa).

21 They are : Brahmamitra, Gomitra and Sūryamitra of Kanauj ; Dhruvamitra and Sūryamitra of the 'Sudavapa' series and Sūryamitra of the 'Uddehika' coins.

22 They are Āryamitra, Bhānumitra, Mahābhūtimitra and Mahimitra.

23 The Kulūta chiefs are Satyamitra (?) and Vijayamitra.

24 *BMC(AI)*, pp. lxxxvi, 125-28 and 287.

25 *Taxila*, II, p. 820, Nos. 252-53.

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authority is discernible on these distinctive series of coins and hence they cannot be regarded as the different local issues of the rulers of a single imperial dynasty. No individual ruler can be separated from the coinage of a particular locality and connected with another of a different place. There are, of course, some twelve identical names which occur on two or more series of coins. We give below a comparative list of the characteristic coin-types of the Mitra rulers of different localities[26] having common names.[27]

1. AGIMITA (Agnimitra)

	Obverse	*Reverse*
Kauśāmbī : *JNSI*, IV, p. 142, Pl. XII. 20.	Bull to r. before nandipada-topped three-peaked hill above railing (S 2.).	Tree-in-railing in centre ; wavy line between two straight lines on l. ; *nandipada* with a triangle-headed standard above on r. Legend below : *Agnimita[sa]*.
Pañchāla *BMC (AI)*, p. 200, Pl. XXVIII. 8.	In a sqr. incuse, three Pañchāla symbols (S 37, S 43, S 36). Legend below : *Agimitrasa*.	Deity (Agni) on platform between two pillars.

These distinctive coin-types indicate that the two Agnimitras belonged to two different dynasties. Moreover, a comparative study of the characters of the coins of the two series shows that Agnimitra of Kauśāmbī was somewhat earlier in date than his Pañchāla namesake. None of them can, however, be identified with Agnimitra Śuṅga (cf. p. 50 above). Another Agnimitra, known from a Vaiśālī sealing might have belonged to the Mitra family of Magadha (cf. p. 69, n. 95 above). The idea that 'Indrāgnimitra' of the Bodh-Gayā inscription combines the names of 'Indra(mitra)' and 'Agnimitra', meaning thereby 'Agnimitra, son of Indramitra', as proposed by K. D. Bajpai (*JNSI*, XXVI, p. 10), appears to be absurd.

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26 For a list of the coin-types of all the Mitra rulers of different localities see the author's paper, "The Coin-types of Kings with Mitra-ending Names", published as *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 7 (1959) by the Numismatic Society of India. The additional names known since its publication have been incorporated here.

The important symbols referred to henceforward are given serially in a Plate at the end ; 'S' will stand for Symbol number in the Plate.

27 The name 'Āyumitra' on some Ayodhyā coins of 'Cock-and-Bull' type (*IMC*, I, p. 150, Nos. 17-21 : No. 17 Pl. XIX. 17) was at first read by E. J. Rapson

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2. BHĀNUMITA (Bhānumitra)

	Obverse	*Reverse*
Audumbara : (1) *BMC* (*AI*), p. 128, Pl. XLIII. 2.	Male figure to l. with spear in r. hand. Kharoshṭhī legend illegible.	Elephant to l. with rider. Brāhmī legend above—*Bhānumitasa*.
(2) *BMC* (*AI*), p. 127, Pl. XV. 21.	Elephant to l. Kh. legend above : *Raña Bhanumitrasa*.	Three symbols : S 48, S 36 (third Pañchāla symbol), S 12 (tree-in-railing). Br. legend above : [*Rā*]*jña Bhānumita*[*sa*].
Pañchāla : *BMC* (*AI*), p. 195, Pl. XXVII. 15-16.	In a sqr. incuse, the three Pañchāla symbols. Legend below : *Bhānumitrasa*.	Sun between two pillars on railed pedestal.

Bhānumitra of the characteristic mono-scriptual Pañchāla coins cannot be identified with Bhānumitra of the bi-scriptual Audumbara issues, even though his type No. 2 has on it the third Pañchāla symbol which, in combination with other different symbols, does not signify any connection with Pañchāla.

3. BRAHMAMITA (Brahmamitra)

	Obverse	*Reverse*
Kanauj : *BMC* (*AI*), p. 147, Pl. XIX, 11.	Ujjain symbol (S 28), tree-in-railing (S 12) and triangle-headed standard (S 3). Legend below : *Brahmamitasa*.	*Triśūla* within railing.
Mathurā : *BMC* (*AI*), p. 173, Pl. XXV. 12.	Lakshmī facing with lotus in hand, S 46 on l., S 28 (Ujjain symbol) and S 43 on r. Legend above : *Brahamamitasa*.	Three elephants with riders.

Since the Ujjain symbol, which seems to be the dynastic emblem of the Mitras of Mathurā, as distinguished from that (S 44)

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as *Suyyamitra*, i. e. 'Sūryamitra' (*IC*, Pl. IV. 3) and then as *Āyyamitra*, i.e. 'Āryamitra' (*JRAS* 1900, p. 100), which name is also read by Allan on some British Museum coins of Ayodhyā (*BMC*, *AI*, pp. 137-38, Nos. 59-68, No. 60 Pl. XVII. 18). But, from an examination of the specimens in the Indian Museum, we agree with the reading *Ayumitra* as given by V. A. Smith (*IMC*, p. 145). The name 'Āryamitra' is, however, found on some bi-scriptual coins coming from the Punjab and usually attributed to the Audumbaras (*BMC*, *AI*, pp. 125-26, Nos. 26-30, No. 26 Pl. XV. 13). But since we do not accept the reading 'Āryamitra' or 'Sūryamitra' on the above-mentioned Ayodhyā coins, we do not consider the Āyumitra issues in the list of common names.

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of the Dattas of that place (cf. the coin-types of the Mathurā rulers in *BMC, AI,* pp. 170 ff.), also appears on the coins of Brahmamitra of Kanauj, which are of about the same date, and since Mathurā is not far separated from Kanauj, Brahmamitras of the two places might have been identical. But it is doubtful if he can be identified with his namesake of the Bodh-Gayā railing inscription (cf. p. 67 above).

4a. BAHASATIMITA (Bṛihatsvātimitra or Bṛihaspatimitra I)

	Obverse	*Reverse*
Kauśāmbī : *BMC(AI)*, p. 150, Pl. XX. 1.	Horse r. before Ujjain symbol (?) in a sqr. with *nandipada* (S. 33) above. Legend above : [*Baha-*] *satim*[*i*]*tasa.*	Elephant r. on pedestal, tree-in-railing behind, Ujjain symbol (S 27) above.

This cast coin is distinguished by its type and fabric from the die-struck coins bearing the same name (Bahasatimita II) and is more allied to the early uninscribed coins of Kauśāmbī (cf. *BMC, AI,* p. xcvi). Bahasatimita I is identified with his namesake of the Mora brick inscription, whose daughter was married to a king of Mathurā (*BMC, AI,* p. xcviii).

4b. BAHASATIMITA (Bṛihatsvātimitra or Bṛihaspatimitra II)

	Obverse	*Reverse*
Kauśāmbī : *BMC(AI)*, p. 151, Pl. XX. 2.	Bull r. before nandipada-topped three-peaked hill above railing (S 2), Ujjain symbol (S 28) above.	Tree-in-railing in centre ; triangle-headed standard in railing over *nandipada* on l., wavy line on r. Legend below : *Bahasatimitasa.*
Pañchāla : *IMC*, I, p. 185.	The coin is only noticed, not described.	

Since the coin from Pañchāla is not described, it is difficult to determine if it is a coin of Bahasatimita of Kauśāmbī or of a different ruler of Pañchāla. Bahasatimita II of Kauśāmbī coins may well be identified with his namesake of the Pabhosā inscription (cf. *BMC, AI,* p. xcviii). As to his identification with the king of Magadha of that name, referred to in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, nothing can be definitely said at present (cf. pp. 68-69 above).

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5. DHRUVAMITA (Dhruvamitra)

	Obverse	*Reverse*
Pañchāla : *BMC(AI)*, p. 199, Pl. XXVII. 5-6.	In a sqr. incuse, the three Pañchāla symbols. Legend below : *Dhruvamitrasa.*	Trident between two pillars within railing.
Sudavapa : *JNSI*, III, p. 48, Pl. IVA. 3 (square).	Ujjain symbol (S 28) to top l. ; elephant to l. below. Legend on two sides : *Sudavapa Dhruvamitasa.*	Meandering river with fishes and other symbols.

Dhruvamitra of Pañchāla is identifiable with the ruler of the same name known from a Ramnagar inscription (*JASB* 1909, pp. 271 f.), but his coins are sharply distinguished by type, shape, etc. from those of Dhruvamitra bearing the apellation 'Sudavapa', the significance of which is not known.

6. GOMITA (Gomitra)

	Obverse	*Reverse*
Kanauj : *IMC*, I, p. 205, No. 2 Pl. XXIII. 6.	Tree-in-railing (S 12), Ujjain Symbol (S 28), and triangle-headed standard (S 3). Legend below : [*Go*]*mitasa.*	Tree-in-railing (?), other symbols illegible. Traces of Brāhmī legend below, beginning with *Gomi—*. An overstruck coin (?).
Mathurā : *BMC (AI)*, p. 170, Pl. XXV. 1-2 (square) ; ibid., Pl. XXV. 5-6 (round).	Female figure (Lakshmi) with lotus in r. hand ; S 46 on l., S 28 (Ujjain symbol) with S 43 above on r., S 43 (river with fishes) below. Legend above : *Gomitasa.*	Three elephants with riders.

Gomitra of Mathurā is identifiable with the ruler of the same name mentioned in the Ganeshra brick inscription (*ASR* 1911-12, p. 129). Again, for reasons adduced in the case of Brahmamitra, the two Gomitras of Mathurā and Kanauj may also be identified.

Some other coins of the Mathurā series bearing the name of Gomitra are assigned on various numismatic grounds to one or more rulers, different from the Gomitra discussed above (see *BMC, AI*, p. 169, Pl. XXIV. 21 and Pl. XXV.3).

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7. PRAJĀPATIMITRA

	Obverse	*Reverse*
Kauśāmbī : *JNSI*, IV, p. 140, Pl. XII. 12-13.	Bull to r. before S 2, as on other Kauśāmbī coins ; Ujjain symbol (S 28) above.	Tree-in-railing in centre, Ujjain symbol (S 28) on l., another indistinct symbol on r. Legend around : *Prajā[pa]timi-[trasa]*.
Pañchāla : *JNSI*, III, p. 80, Plate, Figs. 1-2.	Pañchāla symbol No. 1 (S 37) only. Legend in two lines : *Prajapatimitrasa*.	Deity (Prajāpati) under an arched temple, third Pañchāla symbol (S 36) in field on l.

It is difficult to determine if the two kings of the two different series of coins were identical ; they appear, however, of about the same period.

8. SATYAMITA (Satyamitra)

	Obverse	*Reverse*
Ayodhyā : *BMC (AI)*, p. 135, Pl. XVII. 10-11.	Bull to l. before standard on l. Legend below : *Satyamitasa*.	Cock to r. before palmtree on r. over a wavy line.
Kauśāmbī : *JNSI*, IV, p. 134, Pl. XII. 6.	Bull to r., other symbols illegible.	Tree-in-railing in the centre, Ujjain symbol (S 28) on r. ; the symbol on l. is indistinct. Legend below : *—tamita—*
Kulūta : *Taxila*, II, p. 841, No. 255, Plate in Vol. III.	Four symbols : nandipada-standard-in-railing (S 49), circlet surrounded by 4 *nandipadas* (S 34), lotus (S 50) and taurine (S 35), Kh. legend :·· *[Sa]chamitasa(?)*	Three symbols : six-peaked hill surmounted by staff (S 51), *svastika* (S 29), triangle-headed standard (S 3). Br. legend :—*ya*—

The actual name of the Kauśāmbī ruler is however doubtful. The name, since it reads-*tamita*, was probably 'Satamitra', not 'Satyamitra', which would give *[Sa*]chamita*, as in the case of the Kulūta ruler. Besides, the very 'Mitra' series of Ayodhyā coinage (to which belongs the issues of Satyamitra) is of a much later date than the coins of *[Sa]tamita* of Kauśāmbī (see Ch. V below). Hence the two rulers of Ayodhyā and Kauśāmbī cannot be identified. Neither of them again could have anything to do with the doubtful Satyamitra of the Kulūta series of coins, discovered in far-off Taxila.

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9. SŪYAMITA (Sūryamitra)

	Obverse	*Reverse*
Kanauj : *BMC(AI)*, p. 147, Pl. XIX. 12.	Triangle-headed standard (S 3), tree-in-railing (S 12) and Ujjain symbol (S 28). Legend below : *Sūyamitasa.*	Illegible.
Mathurā : *BMC(AI)*, p. 174, Pl. XXV. 17-18.	Lakshmī facing with lotus in r. hand between S. 46 on l. and S 28 (Ujjain symbol) and S 43 on r. Legend above : *Sūyamitasa.*	Three elephants with riders.
Pañchāla : *BMC(AI)*, p. 193, Pl. XXVII. 8.	In a sqr. incuse, the three Pañchāla symbols. Legend below : *Sūyamitrasa.*	Sun over S 48 between pillars on railing.
Sudavapa : *JNSI*, III, p. 47, Pl. IV-A. 1-2 (square).	S 3 (triangle-headed-standard), S 17, and S 28 (Ujjain symbol). Legend on two sides : *Sudavapa-Sūyamitasa.*	A meandering river with fishes, star and six-peaked hill ; S 17 below.
Uddehika : *BMC(AI)*, p. 240, Pl. XXXV. 17.	Tree-in-railing (S 12), tank with two fishes and another indistinct symbol. Two-line legend above : *Udeha-Sūyami[tasa].*	Elephant to l. ; traces of other symbols ; another symbol countermarked on the top l. field.

Sūryamitra of the Mathurā coins can well be identified on palaeographic grounds with *Rājan Gopālīputra* Sūryamitra of an unpublished inscription in the collection of Sri H. P. Poddar of Calcutta. The angular form of the letter *ma*, as seen on the coins of the Pañchāla Sūryamitra, indicates that he flourished later than his namesake of the Mathurā coins. For reasons stated in the cases of Brahmamitra and Gomitra, Sūryamitras of Kanauj and Mathurā also may well be regarded as identical. Since 'Uddehika' was the name of an ancient tribe, 'Udehaki Sūyamita' must have belonged to that particular tribe, and cannot therefore be identified with any of the other Sūryamitras, inspite of the occurrence of certain common symbols, seen on the coins of the Kanauj, Sudavapa and Uddehika series. And, so long as the significance of the term 'Sudavapa' is not definitely known, 'Sudavapa Sūyamita' should also be distinguished from his other namesakes.

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10. VARUṆAMITA (Varuṇamitra)

	Obverse	*Reverse*
Kauśāmbī *JNSI*, IV, p. 141 Pl. XII. 16.	Bull to r. before a blurred symbol (S 2 ?).	Tree-in-railing in centre; wavy line between two straight lines on l.; traces of what looks like an Ujjain symbol. Legend below: *Varuṇamita[sa]*.
Pañchāla: *JNSI*, V, p. 17, Pl. II-B (3 coins).	The three Pañchāla symbols. Legend below: *Varuṇamitrasa*.	Illegible.

Varuṇamitra of the Kauśāmbī coins can be identified with his namesake of a Kauśāmbī inscription (*Ind.Cult.*, I, p. 694). Varuṇamitra of the Pañchāla coins appears to be a later ruler (see Ch. VII, Sec. I below).

11. VISHṆUMITA (Vishṇumitra)

	Obverse	*Reverse*
Mathurā; *BMC* (*AI*), p. 175, Pl. XXV. 15-16.	Lakshmī facing between S. 46 on l. and S 28 on r. Legend above: *Vishṇumitasa*.	Three elephants with riders.
Pañchāla: *BMC* (*AI*), p. 202, Pl. XXIX. 8.	In a sqr, incuse, the three Pañchāla symbols. Legend below: *Vishṇumitrasa*.	Deity (Vishṇu) within pillars on pedestal.

Vishṇumitra of Mathurā coins can be identified with the ruler of the same name known from a Mathurā epigraph (*IHQ*, II, p. 441). Vishṇumitra of Pañchāla coins seems to be later in date than the Mathurā ruler of the same name (see Ch. VII, Sec. I below).

12. VIJAYAMITA (Vijayamitra)

	Obverse	*Reverse*
Ayodhyā: (1) *BMC* (*AI*), p. 139, Pl. XVIII. 1.	Bull to l. before standard. Legend below: *Vijayamitasa*.	Tree on l.; cock on r.
(2) *BMC* (*AI*), p. 139, Pl. XVIII. 5 (rev.) and 3 (obv.).	Bull on pedestal.	Elaborate *nandipada* (S 53). Legend below: *Vijaya...*
Kulūta: *Taxila*, II, p. 820, No. 252, Plate in Vol. III.	Nandipada-standard-in-railing (S 49), circlet surrounded by four *nandipadas* (S 34), and taurine. Kh. legend: *Raña Kulutasa Vijayamitasa*.	Six-peaked hill surmounted by a staff (S 51), *svastika* (S 29) and triangle-headed standard (S 3). Br. legend: *Rājña Kulūtasya Vijayamitrasya*.

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Since Vijayamitra, whose coins are discovered in distant Taxila, is called a 'Kulūta' chief, it is not possible to identify him with the Ayodhyā ruler of that name. Moreover, their coins are also of distinctly different types. We know of another Vijayamitra from the Bajaur Relic casket inscription of the reign of Menander; but since he is not called a 'Kulūta', it is not likely that he was identical with Vijayamitra of Kulūta coins, though he can be identified with Vijayamitra, the father of Indravarmā (who was apparently the father of the *strategos* Aśpavarmā), known from some Indo-Scythian coins (see Ch. IX, Sec. II below).

We thus find that mere identity of names can scarcely be considered as a sure sign of the identity of the persons concerned. The conservatism of Indian coins is well-known[28]; and the local type of a particular coin very often decides its attribution to a particular local dynasty or tribe. Thus, although a coin of Brahmamitra was found at Rairh along with the Uddehika coins[29], it is evident from the coin-type in question that Brahmamitra belonged to the Mathurā group of rulers and not to the Uddehika clan. Similarly, the discovery of the coin of Indramitra of the Pañchāla series at Pāṭaliputra[30] does not necessarily prove that he belonged to the 'Mitra' family of Magadha.

That the rulers represented by the different series of local coins belonged actually to different local dynasties is also corroborated by a few inscriptions that are available for this period. Thus the Pabhosā inscription of Āshāḍhasena gives us the names of a line of rulers at Ahichchhatrā[31], and Dhruvamitra of the Pañchāla coins is probably referred to in a Rāmnagar coping stone inscription.[32] Bahasatimita (II) of the Kauśāmbī coins, who can be identified with his namesake mentioned in the Pabhosā inscription belonged to another line of rulers at Kauśāmbī. Some Kauśambī records also

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28 Cf. Rapson, *BMC* (*Andhra*), p. xi.

29 *ER*, pp. 51-52.

30 *ASR* 1912-13, p. 84, No. 19.

31 *SI*, p. 98. The inscription (No. II) gives the genealogy as Vaṅgapāla, king of Adhichchhatrā, his son king Bhāgavata and his son Āshāḍhasena.

32 *JASB* 1909, pp. 271-2.

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mention Varuṇamitra[33], Jyeshṭhamitra[34] and Rājamitra[35], known from the coins of that locality. A fragmentary Kosam inscription refers to another Kauśāmbī king named Śivamitra[36], not represented by coins. Devīmitra and Dāmamitra are known from two brick inscriptions from the Kanpur region.[37] The Ayodhyā inscription of Dhanadeva[38] who is known from some Ayodhyā coins, corroborates the existence of a dynasty at Ayodhyā, which was probably succeeded by the 'Mitras' of that place, as indicated by coins. Some records reveal the existence of a different line of rulers at Mathurā also. Vishṇumitra of the Mathurā coins is mentioned in a Mathurā epigraph.[39] Gomitra of the same series is known from a Ganeshrā inscription, while another unnamed Mathurā king is referred to in the Morā brick inscriptions of his queen Yaśamatā.[40] An unpublished short inscription from Mathurā, now in the collection of Sri H. P. Poddar of Calcutta, refers to King Śūryamitra, evidently of the Mathurā region. Although the 'Mitras' of Magadha are not represented by any distinctive coinage, they are known from several inscriptions of that area.[41]

From whatever we know of the extent of the empire of at least the first Śuṅga monarch, most of the local kingdoms of Madhyadeśa seem to have been included within it. It is not impossible, therefore, that the local ruling houses originated with Pushyamitra's provincial governors[42], some of whom might have been either members of his family (as in Vidiśā) or matrimonially connected with it (as Dhanadeva's family at

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33 *Ind. Cult.*, I, pp. 694-5.

34 *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, July 11, 1936, p. 5 ; cf. *PHAI*[6], p. 393, n 1.

35 *A.R.Ep.*, 1957-58, No. B 564.

36 *ASR* 1913-14, pp. 262-69.

37 *Ep. Ind.*, XXX, pp. 118 ff ; ibid., XXXIII, pp. 99 f.

38 *SI*, p. 96.

39 *IH*, II, pp. 441 ff.

40 *ASR*, 1911-12, pp. 128 ff.

41 See pp. 66 ff. above.

42 Accepting Jayaswal's identification of Ūdāka of the Pabhosā inscription (in whose tenth regnal year it is dated) with the fifth Śuṅga king, Rapson suggests that some of the feudatories of the Śuṅgas are to be traced in the various local dynasties of Northern India (*CHI*, pp. 524-26). Even though Ūdāka cannot be identified with the fifth Śuṅga king (see p. 53 above), it is not impossible that some of these local dynasties were originally feudatories of the Śuṅgas.

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Ayodhyā).[43] Since the local coinages probably started about the latter part of the second century B. C., these provincial governors seem to have gradually waived aside their allegiance to Pushyamitra's successors and become practically independent. And we are to seek the families of these provincial governors in the so-called Mitras who were the only rulers of concern, known from epigraphic and numismatic sources, to have ruled in different parts of Northern India in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era. But, just as all the known Śuṅga kings did not bear mitra-ending names, so also any prince who happens to bear this name-ending may not belong to the Śuṅga family. For, Dhanadeva of Ayodhyā, who claims descent from Pushyamitra Śuṅga, bore a different name-ending, whereas the 'Mitras' of that place (who flourished at a much later period) do not appear to have any connection whatsoever with the Śuṅgas.

While, therefore, some of the local dynasties of Northern India, to which the so-called Mitras belonged, might have owed their origin to the Śuṅgas, none of them can be identified with the imperial line mentioned in the Purāṇas, nor can we hold that all the 'Mitras' of the various localities belonged to a single family; for it is quite unlikely that the 'Mitra' rulers belonging to the distant Punjab tribes, such as the Audumbaras and the Kulūtas, could have been connected with the 'Mitras' of Madhyadeśa.

We do not know why so many rulers of widely scattered areas of Northern India chose to bear the name-ending *mitra*. It is, however, interesting to note that the first portion of a large number of their names alludes to a deity, e. g. Agni or Vishṇu, or to a *nakshatra*, such as Jyeshṭhā or Phālgunī. The deity-names like Śiva, Sūrya, Vishṇu, etc. may refer to the different Brahmanical cults then prevailing.[44] It is perhaps not unlikely that

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43 The name-ending of Dhanadeva may suggest that he was not a direct descendant of Pushyamitra, but that his family was matrimonially connected with him. Some of the local ruling families were similarly interconnected by matrimonial ties. In this way, the royal house at Kauśāmbī was connected with those at Ahichchhatrā and Mathurā (cf. the Pabhosā inscription No. 1 and the Morā brick inscription of Yaśamatā).

44 This suggestion was made by Professor Jean Filliozat in his report of the examination of my D.Litt. thesis.

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these numerous petty chiefs, who were but followers of the Brahmanical faith, adopted the name-ending *mitra* from that of Pushyamitra Śuṅga, the most illustrious upholder of Brahmanism and the "reviver of the *Aśvamedha* in the Kali Age."[45] It became apparently the fashion for the Hindu rulers of the period to assume names ending with *mitra*, possibly to denote that they were 'mitras' (i. e. friends or patrons) of the deities or *nakshatras* whose names they bore.

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45 Cf. the *Harivaṁśa* passage, *Aśvamedhaṁ Kali-yuge puṇaḥ praty-āharishyati* (v. 40), as quoted in p. 30 above ; for the horse-sacrifices of Pushyamitra see p. 41 above.

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Chapter V

KAUŚĀMBĪ AND AYODHYĀ

The history of various local dynasties of our period may be reconstructed mainly from a study of their numismatic issues. While dealing with the dynastic coinages, we are confronted with the difficulty of placing a number of rulers in a particular locality and within a comparatively short period of time. Numismatic epigraphy, being more rigid than the writing of inscriptions on other materials, does not always help us to determine the sequence of rulers within a period of about a century. We must therefore rely chiefly on the study of the coins themselves—their types, shapes, fabric, symbols, etc., since such objective studies have yielded satisfactory results in determining the chronology of innumerable foreign rulers of North-Western India of about the same period.

I. Kauśāmbī

The coinage ascribable to the kingdom of Kauśāmbī or Vatsa may be broadly grouped into four distinct classes. Class I consists of the early round cast pieces, the majority of which are uninscribed. These may be termed as 'City coins', since some of the inscribed pieces bear the name of the city of Kauśāmbī, as already referred to.[1] The uninscribed cast pieces of Kauśāmbī are characterised by the figure of a 'lanky bull' (or sometimes that of Gaja-Lakshmī, or an 'elephant') and some symbols on the obverse, and the tree-in-railing, Ujjain symbol, *svastika*, etc. on the reverse. The inscribed cast pieces generally bear the figure of an 'elephant' on the obverse and the tree-in-railing, Ujjain symbol, 'triangle-headed standard', etc. on the reverse.

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1 See p. 78 and n. 33 above; for the cast uninscribed coins see *BMC(AI)*, pp 148-49, Pl. XX. 13. Some other coins with the legends *Nagama* (*JNSI*, XXIV, p. 20; ibid., XXVIII, p. 208) and *Gadhikana* (ibid., XXV, p. 19; ibid., XXVII, p. 84; and ibid., XXVIII, pp. 45 and 153) have recently been discovered from Kauśāmbī. These coins, however, bear no similarity with the early cast pieces of Class I including the 'City coins' and might have been the issues of different trade-guilds of Kauśāmbī.

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Class II comprises the die-struck coins of a large number of rulers, and the main devices which prevail throughout the series are a 'bull' (or sometimes a 'lion', 'horse' or a rude male figure) and a tree-in-railing and other symbols.[2]

Class III represents the coins of Dhanadeva and their somewhat degenerate copies with the 'bull' (sometimes an 'elephant') and the tree-in-railing devices and are distinct from those of Class II in style and fabric.

Class IV comprises the issues of the Maghas, which also bear the devices of the 'bull' and the tree-in-railing. The characteristic types of all classes of Kauśāmbī coins are therefore found to be the 'bull' and the tree-in-railing.

The approximate date when Kauśāmbī became independent may be determined from a study of its coinage. The cast pieces of Class I, most of which are uninscribed, were undoubtedly earlier than the struck coins bearing names of rulers, and were the first independent coinage of Kauśāmbī. Closely connected with the coins bearing the name of the city of Kauśāmbī are two other inscribed pieces with names of two rulers, Bahasatimita and Sudeva.[3]

A Bahasatimita is also known from the struck coins of Class II.[4] From the very marked differences of type, fabric as well as the epigraphy of the coin-legends, Bahasatimita of the cast pieces has been ditinguished from Bahasatimita of the struck coins.[5]

In the Morā brick inscription of Yaśamatā[6] who was the wife of a king (apparently of Mathurā), she is said to be the daughter of one Bṛihāsvātimita (Bṛihatsvātimitra). The Pabhosā cave inscription of Āshāḍhasena[7] also mentions one Bahasatimitra (Bṛihatsvātimitra or Bṛihaspatimitra), of whom he was the maternal uncle. From palaeographic considerations, the Morā

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2 Cf. *BMC(AI)*, p. xciv. Before the bull there is a symbol (S 2), not always distinct. For the form of the tree see S 11.

3 See *BMC(AI)*, p. 150, Pl. XX. 1 (Bahasatimita) and ibid., Pl. XX. 11 (Sudeva).

4 Ibid., p. 151, Pl. XX. 2.

5 Cf. Allan, *BMC(AI)*, p. xcvi.

6 *ASR* 1911-12, p. 128 ; *JRAS* 1912, p. 120.

7 *SI*, pp. 97-98, No. 1.

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brick inscription is ascribed to a date somewhat earlier than that of the Pabhosā epigraph.[8] Bṛihāsvātimita of the Morā brick inscription must have therefore been earlier than Bahasatimittra of the Pabhosā inscription[9] and the former may very well be identified with Bahasatimita (I) of the early cast coins of Kauśāmbī, while there is no difficulty in identifying the latter with Bahasatimita (II) of the struck coins of Class II.[10] Now, since the Pabhosā inscription cannot be assigned to a date much earlier than the second half of the first century B.C., the Morā inscription may be dated about the beginning of that century. Therefore Bṛihāsvātimita who must have flourished somewhat earlier than his daughter Yaśamatā, during whose time the Morā bricks were inscribed, may be placed about the end of the second century B.C.

Again, Sudeva whose coins exhibit the figure of an 'elephant' on the obverse, as on the 'City issues' of Kauśāmbī, seems to have come earlier than Bahasatimita I whose coins bear the figure of a 'horse' on the obverse in addition to that of the common emblem 'elephant' on the reverse. Sudeva being the earliest known ruler and a near predecessor of Bahasatimita, the independent dynasty of Kauśāmbī was probably founded about the middle of the second century B.C. Of course, the 'City issues' started before that time, probably from about the beginning of that century, while the uninscribed coins might have been issued a little earlier, about the end of the third century B.C.

It is thus possible that Kauśāmbī acquired the position of an autonomous city even during the time of the later Mauryas when it first began to issue its independent local uninscribed coinage. Pushyamitra, who is not so far known to have issued any coinage in his name, probably allowed the local currency to continue everywhere. Thus, he did not interfere with the 'City coins' of Kauśāmbī, which was in all probability included within his empire. As in Ayodhyā, he might have installed a viceroy

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8 Cf. Sircar, *SI*, p. 97; Barua, *IHQ*, VI, pp. 22-23; and N. G. Majumdar, *MS*, Vol. 1, pp. 271-72.

9 Vogel (*ASR* 1911-12; p. 128), Jayaswal (*JBORS*, III, pp. 473-80) and Rapson (*CHI*, pp. 524-25) identified the two.

10 Cf. Allan, *BMC(AI)*, pp. xcvii-xcviii.

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at Kauśāmbī who either belonged to his family or was matrimonially related to it. That the provincial viceroys of Pushyamitra enjoyed a great degree of autonomy is suggested by the case of his son Agnimitra who is known to have ruled practically like an independent king at Vidiśā. During the time of his successors, these viceroys probably threw out the semblance of Śuṅga authority over them and began to issue coins with their own names like independent rulers. Thus, if Bahasatimita I of the cast coins, who was one of the earliest known members of the local dynasty, is identified with Bṛihāsvātimita of the Morā brick inscription, the ruling family of Kauśāmbī could not have come into existence much earlier than the middle of the second century B. C.

Recent excavations at Kauśāmbī have brought to light coins of the Mitra kings from Period III of the defences, the beginning of which is dated from associated pottery, etc. as *c.* 200 B. C.[11] And it is interesting to note that beside the structures of the defences belonging to Period III have been unearthed the remains of a typical *syena-chiti* (eagle-altar) along with some human skulls and a large number of human and animal bones, reminiscent of *purushamedha* (human sacrifice) as described in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (vii. 5. 2. 1 *seq.*).[12] Now, since "the ceremony (*purushamedha*) was to be performed by a Brāhamaṇa or a Rājanya, and was expected to obtain for the sacrificer universal pre-eminence and every blessing which the Horse-sacrifice might have failed to secure"[13], we may perhaps hazard a guess that the founder of the so-called Mitra dynasty of Kauśāmbī might have performed it to commemorate the establishment of his political authority.

The duration of the dynasty of rulers represented by the struck coins of Class II was roughly about two centuries—from the second half of the second century B. C. to the latter part

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11 *IAR* 1957-58, pp. 47-48.

12 Cf. *The Veda of the Black Yajus School entitled Taittiriya Saṁhitā* by A. B. Keith (Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 18), 1914, pp. cxxxvii ff. For the particulars of the discovery see *IAR* 1957-58, pp. 48-49.

13 Cf. *The Texts of the White Yajurveda* : Translation by R. T. H. Griffith, p. 303, note. Books XXX and XXXI deal with the *purushamedha* or Human sacrifice.

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of the first century A. D., i. e. till the time of Kaṇishka. For, the finds of coins and inscriptions of the Kushāṇa monarch in this region indicate that Kauśāmbī came under the sway of the Kushāṇas during the time of Kaṇishka. While the Sarnath inscription of Kaṇishka's Year 3 [14] shows that his dominions extended upto Vārāṇasī in the east, three other inscriptions found at Kosam itself[15] leave no room for doubt that Kauśāmbī was included within his empire. Moreover, the use of Kaṇishka's reckoning by the Maghas who were the successors of the Kushāṇas in the Kauśāmbī region also presupposes the extension of Kushāṇa authority over this area before Year 51, the first known date of the Maghas, as recorded in the Bāndhogaṛh inscription of Bhīmasena.[16] The local coinage of Kauśāmbī seems to have stopped at least during the time of Kaṇishka. And since the coins of Class II belong to a continuous series, all the rulers represented by them must have flourished earlier than the time of Kaṇishka. The Dhanadeva group of rulers represented by the struck coins of Class III probably established themselves sometime after Kaṇishka, when the Kushāṇa power was on the decline ; but before long they were ousted by the Maghas whose dated records show that they occupied Kauśāmbī by the middle of the second century A. D.[17]

A. Early Rulers

About 26 rulers are so far known from the coins of Classes I and II, and some inscriptions of that period, and more names may still be added to the list with fresh discoveries. The difficulty is to accommodate so many rulers within a comparatively short peirod of about two centuries only. If we hold that these rulers came in succession to one another, it follows that most of them had a very short reign, the average period of each king being less than eight years. But some of them are known to have ruled for a considerably longer period, e. g.

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14 *SI*, p. 132.

15 See *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, pp. 210 ff. (Year 3 ?) ; *A. R. Ep.*, 1952-53, No. B 447 (Year 23 ?) ; and No. B 454 (Year 3 ?). For an inscribed seal of Kaṇishka dug up from Kauśāmbī see *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, p. 175.

16 *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, p. 177.

17 The earliest known date of the records of the Maghas at Kauśāmbī is Year 81 of Bhadramagha, i. e. 151 A. D.

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Rājamitra who ruled for 26 years[18] or Aśvaghosha who ruled for at least 40 years.[19] It is not therefore unlikely that some of these kings ruled contemporaneously with one another in adjoining districts.[20] The region of Kauśāmbī was wide enough in extent to have been divided into several parts and ruled by several collateral lines with a limited area of jurisdiction under each.[21]

The rulers so far known from the struck coins of Class II are: Agarāja,[22] Agimita (Aguimitra)[23], Aśvaghosha[24], Bahasatimita (Bṛihatsvātimitra or Bṛihaspatimitra II)[25], Isaramita (Īśvaramitra)[26], Jeṭhabh[u]t[i] (Jyeshṭhabhūti)[27], Jeṭhamita (Jyeshṭhamitra)[28], Pavata (Parvata)[29], Prajāpatimīta (Prajāpatimitra)[30], Poṭhamita (Praushṭhamitra)[31], Prayamita (Priyamitra)[32], Rādamita (Rādhamitra)[33], Rājamita (Rājamitra)[34], Rajanimita (Rajanīmitra)[35], Rāmamita (Rāmamitra)[36] Sapamita (Sarpa-

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18 Cf. the Allahabad Municipal Museum inscription of Rājamitra of Year 26: *A. R. Ep.*, 1957-58, No. B 564.

19 Cf. the Sarnāth inscription of Aśvaghosha of Year 40: J. P. H. Vogel, *Ep Ind.*, VIII, p. 171. For the discussion of the year see p. 114-15 below.

20 Cf. *AIU*, p. 162.

21 Cf the case of about thirty contemporary Indo-Greek rulers who ruled in the North-Western India and the Punjab region for a still shorter period of about a century (from about the middle of the second century B. C. to the middle of the first century B. C.).

22 *JNSI*, IV, p. 15, Pl. I. 17; ibid., p. 138, Pl. XII. 10-11; ibid., XIII, p. 198, Pl. VIII. 21; and ibid., XXII, p. 131, Pl. VI. 21.

23 *BMC* (*AI*), p. 153, Pl. XX. 5; *JNSI*, IV, p. 142, Pl. XII. 19-20.

24 *BMC* (*AI*), p. 150, Pl. XX. 6.

25 Ibid., p. 151, Pl. XX. 2.

26 *JNSI*, XV, p. 44, Pl. II. 5-6.

27 Ibid., XXII, p. 131, Pl. VI. 20. The name of the ruler is given here as Jyeshṭhagupta; but the illustration shows *Jetha-bhata*. i. e. Jyeshṭhabhūti., not *Jeṭha-gata* (Jyeshṭhagupta), as read by K. D. Bajpai.

28 *BMC* (*AI*), p. 154, Pl. XX. 7-9.

29 Ibid., p. 150, Pl. XX. 10. A new type of Parvata's coins has been published in *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 137, Pl. III, 2.

30 *JNSI*, IV, p. 7, Pl. I. 6 and p. 140, Pl. XII. 12-14.

31 Ibid., IV, p. 133, Pl. XII. 1; Ibid., VIII, p. 11, Pl. I. 7.

32 Ibid., XXII, p. 131, Pl. VI. 19.

33 Ibid., IV, p. 4, Pl. I. 2; and p. 141, Pl. XII. 15.

34 Ibid., IV, p. 8, Pl. I. 6-9, and p. 140, Pl. XII. 14.

35 Ibid., IV, p. 10, Pl. I. 10.

36 Ibid., XXII, p. 131, Pl. VI. 18.

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mitra)[37], Satamita (Śatamitra)[38], Suramita (Suramitra)[39], Varuṇamita (Varuṇamitra)[40], and Vavaghosha (?) or Śivaghosha.[41]

From the few epigraphic records of this period also, we know the names of several local rulers of Kauśāmbī who may very well be identified with some of the kings known from coins. Thus, the Bhārhut Gateway inscription[42] reveals to us the names of three generations of rulers, viz., Gārgīputra Viśvadeva, Gauptīputra Āgaraju and Vātsīputra Dhanabhūti, of whom Āgaraju is generally identified with Agarāja of the Kauśāmbī coins.[43] The line of Dhanabhūti, therefore, appears to have been ruling somewhere in Southern Kauśāmbī near Bhārhut. No coin of either Viśvadeva or Dhanabhūti, however, is so far reported to have come from Kauśāmbī. But a clay sealing of Dhanabhūti has been discovered there.[44]

The Sarnath pillar of Aśoka bears an inscription dated in the 40th year of king Aśvaghosha.[45] The characters of the inscription are very similar to those on the coins of Aśvaghosha and the two rulers may easily be identified. The date of the inscription, if referred to the Śaka era according to Vogel's suggestion, would fall in the reign of Huvishka, the dates of whose inscriptions range from Year 28 to Year 60 of Kaṇishka's reckoning. But since there is evidence of the extension of the Kushāṇa sway over the Kauśāmbī area during the time of Kaṇishka, and since the early struck coins of Kauśāmbī were of a continuous series, Aśvaghosha of those coins cannot be placed later than the beginning of Kaṇishka's reign, when all local

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37 Ibid., IV, p. 135, Pl. XII. 7-8.

38 Ibid., IV, p. 134, Pl. XII. 6. The Sanskritised form of the name of the ruler would be Śatamitra, not Satyamitra, since Satyamitra would be Sachamita in Prakrit.

39 *JNSI*, IV, p. 5, Pl. I. 3 and ibid., XI, p. 10, Pl. III. 2.

40 Ibid. IV, p. 6, Pl. I. 5, and p. 141, Pl. XII. 16; ibid., VIII, p. 17, Pl. IB. 2.

41 Ibid., IV, p. 2, Pl. I. 1. Altekar read the name as Vavaghosha, but Burns suggested Śivaghosha (*JNSI*, VII, pp. 101-102). It is difficult to determine which reading is correct, since the illustration is not clear.

42 *SI*, p. 89.

43 Cf. *JBRS*, XXX, p. 205.

44 *JNSI*, XXVII, p. 188; also cf. p. 59 above.

45 J P. H. Vogel, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 171.

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coinages seem to have stopped for a time. The date, again, cannot refer itself to the Vikrama era of 58 B. C., so early use of which is not known in this region. The only other alternative, therefore, is to refer the Year 40 of the epigraph to the regnal year of the king, although such a long reign in this disturbed period seems to be unusual. However, if we accept the Year 40 as the regnal year of king Aśvaghosha, there arises no difficulty in identifying him with his numismatic namesake, since the writings on both the inscription and the coins concerned appear to belong to the first century A.D.

As already noted, Bṛihāsvātimita of the Morā brick inscription may be identified with Bahasatimita (I) of the cast coins, while Bahasatimittra of the Pabhosā records appears to be the same as Bahasatimita (II) of the struck coins. It is, however, difficult to determine if the latter can be identified with the Magadhan king of that name, mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription.[46]

Two other rulers of the Kauśāmbī region named Dāmamitra[47] and Devīmitra[48], so far not known from coins, are however mentioned in some brick inscriptions found at Musānagar in Kanpur District. Jyeshṭhamitra of coins may probably be identified with Jyeshṭhamitra of a Kauśāmbī inscription referred to by H. C. Raychaudhuri.[49] Rājamitra of coins may be identified with king Rājamitra of an inscription in the Allahabad Municipal Museum dated in his 26th regnal year.[50] Another king named Śivamitra, not hitherto represented by coins, is referred to in a stone-slab inscription from Kauśāmbī dated in his 12th regnal year.[51] The Pabhosā inscription possibly refers to another

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46 Cf. pp. 68-69 and 99 above ; also *SI*, p. 209, l. 12.

47 *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIII, pp. 99 f.

48 Ibid., XXX, pp. 118 ff. Altekar wrongly read the name as Devamitra whom he identified with Devamitra of two coins found at Kauśāmbī by Cunningham (*CASR*, X, p. 4). But as these coins are yet unpublished, we do not know if they belonged to a king of Kauśāmbī or to Devamitra of Ayodhyā, who flourished at a later time. The correct form of the name in the inscription is, however, Devīmitra : cf. Sircar, *Ep. Ind.*, XXX, p. 99.

49 *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, July 11, 1936, p. 5 as noticed in *PHAI*[6], p. 393, n. 1.

50 *A. R. Ep.*, 1957-58, No. B 564.

51 *ASR* 1913-14, pp. 262 ff.

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king of Kauśāmbī, Ūdāka, in whose tenth regnal year the record is dated.[52] Varuṇamitra, known from some recently discovered coins of Kauśāmbī, may be identified with king Gauptīputra Varuṇamitra referred to in a fragmentary inscription of his son Kohaḍiputra...(whose personal name is lost), and ascribed to the same period as that of the Pabhosā epigraphs (i. e. the latter part of the first century B. C.) or somewhat later.[53]

Besides the coins and inscriptions, some clay sealings unearthed from Rājghat in Vārāṇasī[54] also reveal the names of a number of rulers some of whom may probably be identified with kings known from coins. They bear the names of 'Yuvarāja Magu' (?), Jeṭhadata (Jyeshṭhadatta), Jyeshṭhamitra, Aśvaghosha, a few Magha rulers and others. Of them Jyeshṭhamitra and Aśvaghosha were probably the same as their namesakes of the Kauśāmbī coins; for it is not unlikely that Vārāṇasī was included within the sphere of Kauśāmbī rulers.

It is very difficult to arrange so many rulers in their proper chronological positions without any clue other than the evidence of their coins. We shall try here to find out connecting links between rulers, as revealed by the typological interconnections of their coins. We have already noted that the earliest known members of the local dynasty of Kauśāmbī were Sudeva and Bahasatimita I, since their coins are closely connected with the early uninscribed cast pieces of Kauśāmbī. They were followed by rulers represented by the struck coins of Class II. The relationship between these two groups of rulers who are known from two different classes of coins cannot be ascertained.

Of the rulers represented by the struck coins, Aśvaghosha and Parvata are considered to be the earliest by Allan who seems to place them about the second half of the second century B.C.[55] But, Aśvaghosha of the coins who is most probably to be identified with Aśvaghosha of the Sarnath pillar inscription, cannot be placed so early. For, the coin-legend as well as the inscription suggests a date not earlier than the first century A.D. On the other hand, the coin of Vavaghosha

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52 *AI*, pp. 97-98, No. 1; see also p. 53 and n. 29 above.
53 *Ind. Cult.*, I, pp. 694 f.
54 *JNSI*, XXIII, pp. 411-12.
55 Cf. *BMC* (*AI*), p. xcvi.

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(or Śivaghosha), recently discovered from Kauśāmbī, exhibits the square incuse, characteristic of the early struck coins of India, as well as somewhat earlier froms of letterings in the coin-legend. He therefore may be placed earliest amongst the kings so far represented by struck coins, and may be assigned to a date about the beginning of the first century B.C.

Vavaghosha (or Śivaghosha) is connected by symbols with Praushṭhamitra and Jyeshṭhamitra ; for, besides the 'tree-in-railing' (S 11), common to all Kauśāmbī coins, the so-called Ujjain symbol (S 27) and the taurine symbol (S 35) appear on the coins of all the three rulers. Again, the *svastika* (S 31 or 30) which occurs on the coins of both Vavaghosha (or Śivaghosha) and Jyeshṭhamitra[56], suggests that the two may not have been far separated in time. Jyeshṭhamitra also seems to have been connected by type with Jyeshṭhabhūti whose coins have recently been published ; for, only these two Kauśāmbī kings have used the device of a standing male figure on the obverse of their coins.[57] Jyeshṭhabhūti might have been ruling contemporaneously with Jyeshṭhamitra in some other part of Kauśāmbī.

Coins of kings Praushṭhamitra and Jyeshṭhamitra are again connected with those of Agnimitra and Bṛihaspatimitra II by their style, execution and the combination of symbols. Moreover, some coins of all these four rulers are countermarked by the same symbol, viz. the *nandipada-triśula* (S 32).[58] Again, the bull on the coins of these rulers is depicted as facing the *left* as that on the coins of Vavaghosha (or Śivaghosha), whereas it is seen as facing the *right* on those of the other rulers. Coins of Jyeshṭhamitra[59], Agnimitra[60] and Brihaspati-

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56 Cf. *JNSI*, IV, p. 2, Pl. I. 1 (Vavaghosha or Śivaghosha) and ibid., p. 144, Pl. XII, 23 (Jyeshṭhamitra).

57 Cf. *BMC(AI)*, p. 154, Pl. XX. 1 (Jyeshṭhamitra) and *JNSI*, XXII, p. 131, Pl. VI. 20 (Jyeshṭhabhūti). There is, however, some difference in the two representations of the device.

58 Cf. *JNSI*, VIII, p. 11, Pl I. 7 (Praushṭhamitra) ; ibid., IV, p. 144, Pl. XII. 23 (Jyeshṭhamitra) ; *BMC(AI)*, p. 153, Pl. XX 5 (Agnimitra) ; and ibid., p. 152, Pl. XXI. 18 (Bṛihaspatimitra II).

59 *BMC(AI)*, p. 154, Pl. XX. 9 (left) and *JNSI*, IV, p. 144, Pl. XII. 23 (right).

60 *BMC(AI)*, p. 153, Pl. XXVIII. 15 (left) and ibid., Pl. XX. 5 (right).

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mitra II[61], however, exhibit both the varieites, viz. 'bull to left' and 'bull to right'. It is, therefore, not impossible that these three rulers came in between those who issued only 'bull to left' coins (i.e. Vavaghosha or Śivaghosha and Praushṭhamitra) and the others who struck only 'bull to right' coins.

The style and fabric of the coins of Agnimitra and Bṛihaspatimitra II exhibit a close connection between the two. Agnimitra might have preceded Bṛihaspatimitra who appears to have been succeeded by Ūdāka, according to the evidence of the Pabhosā inscription (No. 1) as will be seen below. Since this inscription (assignable to the second half of the first century B.C.) refers to Bṛihaspatimitra probably as the former king, he may roughly be placed about 50 B.C. The Pabhosā inscriptions also inform us that Bṛihaspatimitra was the sister's son of Āshāḍhasena, and the great-grandson of king Vaṅgapāla of Ahichchhatrā. The name of a Bṛihaspatimitra also occurs on some coins found at Ahichchhatrā along with other coins of the Pañchāla series[62], which are approximately of the same date. It is, therefore, not impossible that Bṛihaspatimitra of the Kauśāmbī coins was identical with his namesake of the Pañchāla coins, and inherited both the kingdoms of Kauśambī and Pañchāla. But Agnimitra of the Kauśāmbī coins who was probably a predecessor of Bṛihaspatimitra, cannot be identified with Agnimitra of the Pañchāla series[63], because the latter seems to have flourished (as will be seen below, Ch. VII) at a much later time. Nor can he be identified with Agnimitra Śuṅga who ruled about the middle of the second century B. C.

If Bṛihaspatimitra mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription was actually identical with this Bṛihaspatimitra, we have to hold that his territories included also Magadha proper. In that case, he should be taken as a great king of his time, being the ruler of Pañchāla, Kauśāmbī and Magadha. We may here refer to the coins of Bṛihaspatimitra, countermarked with the *nandipada* symbol. As this *nandipada* also occurs in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela who claims to have defeated Bṛihaspatimitra, Jayaswal held that it was Khāravela who countermarked

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61 Ibid., p. 152, No. 24 (left) and ibid., p. 151, Pl. XX. 2 (right).

62 See *IMC*, p. 185. The coin is not published.

63 *BMC* (*AI*), p. 200, Pl. XXVIII. 8. For his identification cf. p. 97 above.

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the coins of Bṛihaspatimitra after defeating him.[64] But it may be pointed out that not only the coins of Bṛihaspatimitra but also of three other rulers, viz. Praushṭhamitra, Jyeshṭhamitra and Agnimitra, are countermarked with the same symbol. Moreover, the identification of Bṛihaspatimitra of these coins with his namesake mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription is by no means certain. Had he really been the same as the Bṛihaspatimitra of Magadha, we would expect some of his coins there. But curiously enough, while coins of some other Mitra rulers (of Pañchāla) were found in the Pāṭaliputra excavations,[65] no coin of Bṛihaspatimitra has been discovered there. Even if we take the two as identical, we have to assume that Khāravela ruled for some time at Kauśāmbī; otherwise there was no need for him to countermark the Kauśāmbī series of Bṛihaspatimitra's coins. But we do not find any indication in the Hāthigumphā inscription to warrant such a presumption.

On the other hand, the occurrence of the counterstriking symbol *nandipada* (S 32) as a component of the obverse device of a recently published coin of the new Kauśāmbī king Rāmamitra appears to be significant. It is not unlikely that the *nandipada* symbol was the personal emblem of this ruler (who alone is known to have used it), and that on his authority the coins of Praushṭhamitra, Jyeshṭhamitra, Agnimitra and Bṛihaspatimitra were counterstruck with the *nandipada*. In any case, this symbol seems to connect Rāmamitra chronologically with the above four rulers.

Bṛihaspatimitra appears to have been succeeded by Ūdāka; for, though Āshāḍhasena, in his pabhosā inscription (No. 1), gives his relationship with King Bṛihaspatimitra, he dates the record in the tenth year of Ūdāka. This may indicate, as suggested by N. N. Ghosh,[66] that while Ūdāka is mentioned as the reigning king of the time, Bṛihaspatimitra is probably referred to as the former sovereign with whom Āshāḍhasena was related. There is, however, no indication in the inscription of any relationship existing between Bṛihaspatimitra and Ūdāka. It is also difficult to determine in what relationship

64 Cf. *JBORS*, III, p. 428, and ibid., XXI, p. 192.
65 See *ASR* 1912-13, p. 84, Nos. 6, 10, 19 and 29.
66 See *EHK*, pp. 43-44.

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Ūdāka stood with Rāmamitra who also appears to be a successor of Bṛihaspatimitra. Possibly both Rāmamitra and Ūdāka were ruling somewhat contemporaneously in different parts of the kingdom of Kauśāmbī. No coin of Ūdāka is, however, known.

Agarāja of the Kauśāmbī coins is connected with the Bṛihaspatimitra group of rulers (viz. Praushṭhamitra, Jyeshṭhamitra, Aguimitra and Bṛihaspatimitra), as his coins also exhibit both 'bull to left' and 'bull to right' types.[67] The taurine and Ujjain symbols (S 35 and S 27) on his coins also connect him with Jyeshṭhamitra and others. If he was the same as Āgaraju of the Bhārhut Gateway inscription, he may be placed about the middle of the first century B.C., as the epigraph of his son Dhanabhūti is assigned to the latter part of that century. Agarāja (or Āgaraju) thus becomes more or less contemporary with Bṛihaspatimitra. It is possible that while Agarāja was ruling in the southern portion of Kauśāmbī along with the Bhārhut area, Bṛihaspatimitra and others were ruling in the northern part of Kauśāmbī. From the Bhārhut inscription, we know that his father was king Viśvadeva and his son was Dhanabhūti. But no coin of either Viśvadeva or Dhanabhūti has been found in the Kauśāmbī region.

Varuṇamitra, identified with king Gauptīputra Varuṇamitra of a fragmentary Kosam inscription, was probably one of the immediate successors of Bṛihaspatimitra as that epigraph is assignable to a date slightly later than that of the Pabhosā inscriptian referring to Bṛihaspatimitra. A recently discovered coin of Varuṇamitra, countermarked with the symbol of *nandipada*-and-triangle-headed-standard (S 7)[68] also affords some connection between Varuṇamitra and the Bṛihaspatimitra group of rulers (some of whose coins are countermarked with the *nandipada* symbol). A Varuṇamitra is known from the Pañchāla series of coins as well[69]; but he seems to have flourished much later (as we shall see below, Ch. VII, Sec. I). Altekar suggests some

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67 For 'bull to l.' see *JNSI*, IV, p. 15, Pl. I. 17 (the reading *Śuṅgarāja* is corrected in ibid., p. 137); and for 'bull to r.', ibid., p. 138, Pl. XII. 10.

68 Ibid., VIII, p. 17, Pl. 1-B.2. Some coins of Bṛihaspatimitra are also countermarked with 'triangle-headed-standard-in-railing' (S 4); cf. *BMC* (*AI*), pp. xcvii and 152, Pl. XX. 4.

69 *JNSI*, V, p. 17, Pl II. B; cf. p. 103 above.

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connection between Gauptīputra Āgaraju and Gauptīputra Varuṇamitra, as they both bear the same metronymic.[70] But we do not know if the identity of metronymic is sufficient to warrant such a supposition.

Parvata and Aśvaghosha, though they issued round coins as usual[71], also struck some square pieces of thin fabric[72], which fact connects them together. The round coin of Parvata, again, has close resemblance with similar pieces of Bṛihaspatimitra II.[73] Parvata appears therefore to be nearer to Bṛihaspatimitra than Aśvaghosha. If this Aśvaghosha was identical with *Rājan* Aśvaghosha of the Sārnāth pillar inscription, he may be placed about the beginning of the first century A.D.

Īśvaramitra, one of the recently known kings, also issued both round and square coins[74], and may probably be connected with Parvata and Aśvaghosha in this respect. It is curious that he alone of all the early Kauśāmbī rulers used the title *rājan* on his square coins. Rādhamitra and Priyamitra, also known from some recently discovered coins, struck square pieces and might have flourished in the same age.

Nothing can be said about Suramitra, Sarpamitra and Satamitra until better specimens of their coins with clearer legends are forthcoming. Satamitra, however, cannot be identified with Satyamitra of the Ayodhyā coins, who was much later in date.[75] These three rulers may be assigned to a date about the first century B.C. or A.D. They might have been ruling contemporaneously with the Aśvaghosa group of rulers in some other part of Kauśāmbī.

Rājamitra, Prajāpatimitra and Rajanīmitra are connected with one another by the arrangement of their coin-legends, written in a circular way along the margin, instead of in

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70 Ibid., IV, pp. 6-7.

71 *IMC*, p. 155, Pl. XX. 4 (Parvata) and *JBORS*, XX, p. 8, Pl. II. 5 (Aśvaghosha: the coin is said to be of alloyed silver).

72 *BMC (AI)*, p. 150, Pl. XX. 10 (Parvata) and ibid., Pl. XX. 6 (Aśvaghosha).

73 Cf. *IMC*, p. 155, Pl. XX. 4 (Parvata) and *BMC(AI)*, p. 151, Pl. XX.2 (Bṛihaspatimitra).

74 *JNSI*, XX, p. 44, Pl. II. 5 (round) and Pl. II. 6 (square).

75 For the coin of Satyamitra of Ayodhyā see *BMC(AI)*, p. 135, Pl. XVII. 10. For his date see below, Sec. II (Ayodhyā). Cf. also p. 101 above.

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straight lines, as was the custom hitherto prevailing. Of them, Rājamitra alone also wrote his legend in a straight line[76], which fact indicates that he was probably the first to introduce the new fashion of inscribing the legend in a circular way. He, therefore, may be placed first amongst the three rulers. Again, the form of the tree device (S 15) on Rajanīmitra's coins resembles closely that on the coins of Dhanadeva[77] and Nava[78], which are of a later date. So Rajanīmitra seems to be the latest of the trio. Prajāpatimitra thus comes in between Rājamitra and Rajanīmitra. We cannot, however, say if this Prajāpatimitra was identical with his namesake of the Pañchāla coins.[79]

King Śivamitra, known only from a mutilated inscription from Kosam, was perhaps one of the latest of the early rulers of Kauśāmbī, as "the characters of the inscription are of the early Kushāṇa type and its language is a mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit."[80] As the inscription is dated in his twelfth regnal year, Śivamitra must have ruled at least for twelve years—probably towards the middle of the first century A. D.

The Musanagar brick inscriptions record the performance of horse-sacrifices by two other rulers, viz. Devīmitra and Dāmamitra, who are also not known from coins. Of them, the former is assinged to the close of the first centnry B.C. or the beginning of the first century A. D., while the latter is placed in the first half of the first century A. D.[81] These two kings seem to have ruled in the Kanpur area, contemporaneously with some of the Kauśāmbī rulers.

The early rulers of the Kauśāmbī region may thus be arranged chronologically in the following groups :—

1. Sudeva	}	about the second half of the
2. Bṛihaspatimitra I	}	second century B. C.

76 Ibid., p. 8, Pl. I. 8 and p. 140, Pl, XII. 14.
77 *BMC(AI)* ,p. 153, Pl. XX. 12.
78 Ibid., p. 154, Pl. XXI. 4.
79 *JNSI*, III, p. 80, Pl. figs. 1-2. Cf. p. 101 above.
80 R. D. Banerji, *ASR* 1913-14, p. 263.
81 D. C. Sircar, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIII, p. 100.

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3.	Vavaghosha or Śivaghosha	about the first half of the first century B. C.
4.	Praushṭhamitra	
5.	Jyeshṭhamitra	
6.	Jyeshṭhabhūti	
7.	Agnimitra	
8.	Bṛihaspatimitra II	
9.	Agarāja or Āgaraju	about the second half of the first century B. C.
10.	Rāmamitra	
11.	Ūdāka (known from inscription)	
12.	Varuṇamitra	
13.	Parvata	
14.	Aśvaghosha	about the first half of the first century A. D.
15.	Īśvaramitra	
16.	Rādhamitra	
17.	Priyamitra	
18.	Devīmitra (known from inscription)	
19.	Dāmamitra (known from inscription)	
20.	Suramitra	about the closing years of the first century B. C. or the beginning of the first century A. D.
21.	Sarpamitra	
22.	Satamitra	
23.	Rājamitra	about the middle of the first century A. D.
24.	Prajāpatimitra	
25.	Rajanīmitra	
26.	Śivamitra (known from inscription)	

There are some other coins of the early Kauśāmbī type with doubtful legends, such as, *Mahārājasa*,[82] *Mahāvaruṇda*,[83] *Nāvikasa*,[84]

82 *JNSI*, XXII, p. 256, Pl. X. 13. See also ibid. p. 257, Pl. X. 14 for another indistinct coin of doubtful reading, *rāja Āyya or Āyu*.

83 *JASB* 1873, p. 109.

84 *JNSI*, IV, p. 136, Pl. XII. 9 and VIII, p. 11, Pl. 1. 8. For the seal with the legend *Nāvikasa*, see *JUPHS*, XII, p. 84. As no royal title is attached to the name, it is doubtful if he can be identified with *Nāvika* of the coins.

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Simhasa,[85] *Hastipāla*,[86] etc. Until better specimens with clearer legends and symbols are forthcoming, the correct names and the chronological positions of the rulers represented by these coins cannot be determined.

B. The Later Rulers and the Maghas of the Kauśāmbī-Rewa Region

1. The Later Rulers (the Dhanadeva Group)

The local coinage of Kauśāmbī seems to have stopped only for the duration of Kaṇishka's reign. This shows that the Kushāṇa hold on Kauśāmbī was not much effective and that it soon passed into the hands of the indigenous rulers.[87] The coins of Dhanadeva and their somewhat degenerate copies with the names of Nava, Mūlahasta (?), Vishṇuśrī (?) and others are to be assigned to the early centuries of the Christian era.[88] These coins form a group by themselves and are distinct from the early struck coins of Kauśāmbī. We find, however, a chronological link between these two series of coins in that the form of the tree-device on the coins of Rajanīmitra (probably the latest member of the earlier dynasty) closely resembles that on Dhanadeva's coins, as already seen. The coins of Nava and others are merely copied from those of Dhanadeva. These rulers apparently followed Dhanadeva at Kauśāmbī and their rule seems to have covered the early decades of the second century A. D.

This Dhanadeva may probably be identified with *Rājan* Dhanadeva, a large number of whose sealings were discovered at

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85 *JRAS* 1903, p. 307, Pl. fig. 16.

86 First read as *Hathipara*, i. e. Hastināpura (*JNSI*, XXIV, p. 20, Pl. II. 1), then as Hastipāla, a ruler (ibid., XXV, p. 99) and identified with Hastipāla of a clay sealing (ibid., XXVIII, p. 44, Pl. II. 11).

87 The discovery of Vāsudeva's coin at Kauśāmbi does not necessarily indicate his rule in that area. No inscription of Vāsudeva has yet been discovered beyond Mathurā. It is possible that, although Kushāṇa rule was extinct at Kauśāmbi, Kushāṇa coins were in use there, side by side with the local coins (cf. N. P. Chakravarti, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, p. 157).

88 See *BMC* (*AI*), p. 153, Pl. XX. 12 (Dhanadeva); p. 154, Pl. XXI, 12 (Nava); p. 156, Pl. XXI. 9 (Mūlahasta ?) and p. 157, No. 65 (Vishṇuśrī ?) and p. xcvii for the date. Allan reads *rāja* before the name of Dhanadeva, but we do not see the title there. This Dhandeva cannot be identified with his namesake of the Ayodhyā coins, as the latter flourished much earlier.

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Rajghat near Vārāṇasī,[89] for, both the coins and the sealings seem to be of about the same date. Another sealing having similar devices as those of Dhanadeva reveals the name of one *Rājan* Abhaya,[90] who is not so far known from any other source.

An inscription in the Allahabad Municipal Museum assigned to the first part of the second century A. D. and dated in the 23rd regnal year of a certain king, commemorates some sacrifices of his minister Śivadatta[91]; but, as the name of that king is unfortunately lost, we have no means to determine who he was.

Altekar places Nava in the third or fourth century A. D., i. e. after the Magha kings, as his coin-type is very similar to that of the Maghas.[92] But this similarity is actually due to the fact that it was the Maghas who succeeded the Nava group of rulers whose type they copied. The form of the tree (S 15) on the coins of Rajanīmitra, on those of Dhanadeva and the Nava group of rulers as well as on that of Bhīmasena,[93] the earliest known king of the Magha dynasty forms a connecting link, whereas this continuity is broken if Nava and others are placed after the Maghas, for the form of the tree on the coins of the later rulers of the Magha dynasty[94] is slightly different from that on Bhīmasena's coins. This chronological order is also supported by the stratigraphical evidence of coins discovered in the Kauśāmbī excavations.[95] Out of the nine sub-periods found there, Mitra and Kushāṇa coins appear first in Sub-period V where coins of Rajanīmitra are found along with an inscribed seal of Kaṇishka bearing the legend : *Mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra Kaṇishkasya prayoge.* From Sub-period VI have been found coins of Kaṇishka, Huvishka, Vāsudeva, Nava and the Maghas, while Sub-period VII has

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89 *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 412, No. 9.

90 Ibid., No. 8.

91 *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, pp. 245 ff.

92 *JJRI*, I, p. 160. It may also be noted that some Rajghat sealings with the legend *Navvasya* have similar devices as are found on Magha seals (*JNSI*, XXIII, p. 412, No. 7). We do not know if this Navva was identical with Nava of coins.

93 Cf. *JNSI*, IV, p. 10, Pl I. 10 (Rajanimitra); *BMC* (*AI*) p. 153, Pl. XX. 12 (Dhanadeva); ibid., p. 154, Pl. XXI. 4 (Nava); ibid, p. 156, Pl. XXI. 9 (Mūlahasta ?); and *JNSI*, VIII, p. 15, Pl. IB (Bhimasena).

94 Cf. for example, Bhimavarman's coin, *JNSI*, II, p. 108, Pl. IX. 9.

95 See *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, p. 175.

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yielded coins of the Maghas only. It is therefore evident that the Nava group of rulers came in between the Kushāṇas and the Maghas at Kausāmbī.

2. The Maghas

From the Purāṇas we know that nine very powerful kings of the 'Megha' dynasty ruled in Kośala.[96] These 'Meghas' are identified with the rulers who are known from several dated inscriptions found in the Rewa District and at Kauśāmbī, as well as from some seals in the Bhīṭā excavations and a large number of coins from Fatehpur and territories adjoining Kauśāmbī; for the names of majority of the rulers end in 'magha.'

The Purāṇas make the 'Meghas' the lords of Kośala. The context in which it is mentioned (along with Mekalā and certain states of the Deccan) shows that Southern Kośala is intended. But it is to be noted that no Magha records are found in South Kośala, i. e. the Raipur-Bilaspur region of Madhya Pradesh. It is, however, likely that in the height of their power the Magha dominions might have extended upto Bilaspur in the south from Fatehpur in the north, including Baghelkhand.

The following Magha kings are so far known from coins and inscriptions :—

1. Vāśishṭhīputra Bhīmasena : known from the Bāndhogarh inscription of Year 51,[97] the Giñjā inscription of Year 52,[98] a Bhīṭā seal,[99] and a few coins.[100]

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96 *DKA*, p. 51 (text) and p. 73 (trans.). Jayaswal thinks that the 'Meghas' might have been the descendants of the Chedis of Orissa and Kaliṅga, i. e., the family of Khāravela, who are called Mahāmeghas in their imperial days : *HI*, p. 87.

97 See *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, p. 177.

98 *CASR*, XXI, p. 119.

99 *ASR* 1911-12, p. 50, No. 27. He may also be identified with *Rājan* Bhimasena of the Rajghat seal : *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 411, No. 6.

100 *JNSI*, VIII, p. 15, Pl. IB. 1. Another coin attributed to Bhimavarman (ibid., p. 10, Pl. I. 5) is really ascribable to Bhimasena, since the devices have great similarity with those on the known coin of Bhimasena, but not with those of Bhimavarman. Moreover, the title *Rājan*, as found on this coin, appears on the coin of Bhimasena alone, not on those of any other Magha ruler.

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2. Kautsīputra Praushṭhaśrī, son of Bhīmasena : known from Bāndhogarh inscriptions of Years 86, 87 and 88[101] and from some coins.[102]

3. Kausikīputra Bhadradeva, son of Praushṭhaśrī : known from the Bāndhogarh inscription of Year 90 (he may probably be identified with Bhaṭṭadeva of another undated Bāndhogarh inscription.)[103]

4. Bhadramagha : known from several Kauśāmbī inscriptions with Years 81,[104] 83,[105] 86, 87, [106] and from coins.[107]

5. Gautamīputra Śivamagha : known from a Bāndhogarh inscription,[108] and a Kauśāmbī inscription,[109] in both of which the date is lost. He is also known from a Bhiṭā seal and[110] coins.[111]

6. Vaiśravaṇa : known from a Kauśāmbī inscription of Year 107,[112] two undated records from Bāndhogarh[113] and from coins.[114]

7. Bhīmavarman : known from two Kauśāmbī inscriptions of Years 130[115] and 139[116] and from coins.[117]

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101 *Ep. Ind.*, XXX, pp. 166 ff., Nos. II-VI, VIII-X (Year 86), No. XVII (Year 87), and No. VII (Year 88).

102 *ASR* 1911-12, p. 65, Nos. 43-71 ; also *JNSI*, IV, pp. 136-37, Pl. XII. 2-5, where the legend on four coins are probably wrongly read as *Pushvasriya[ḥ]* for *Praushṭhaśriyaḥ* (cf. *AIU*, p. 75, n. 1).

103 *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, p. 182, No. XI and p. 183, No. XIII. For the identification of the two cf. *AIU*, p. 176.

104 *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, pp. 253 ff.

105 *A. R. Ep.*, 1952-53, Nos. B-438, B-439 and B-494.

106 *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 160, No. III, Year 86 (not 88 as read by D. R. Sahni), cf. Jayaswal, *HI*, p. 230, n. 3, and A. Ghosh, *Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 715 and note. For the inscription of Year 87 see *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, pp. 245 ff.

107 *BMC(AI)*, p. 159, No. 71 and No. 72 Pl. XXI. 14 ; *JNSI*, II, p. 105, Pl. IX. 1-2.

108 *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, p. 184, No. XIV.

109 Ibid., XVIII, p. 150, No. II.

110 *ASR* 1911-12, p. 51, Nos. 26 and 28.

111 *BMC(AI)*, pp. 156-57, No. 59-61, and No. 64 Pl. XXI. 13 ; *JNSI*, II, pp. 105-06, Pl. IX. 3-5.

112 *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, p. 146.

113 Ibid , XXXI, pp. 185-86, Nos. XVIII-XIX.

114 *BMC (AI)*, p. 157, Nos. 62-63 ; *JNSI*, II, pp. 106-08, Pl. IX. 6-8.

115 *Ind. Cult.*, III, pp. 177 ff.

116 *CII*, III, p. 266.

117 *JNSI*, II, p. 108, Pl. IX. 9.

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Besides these seven rulers, coins reveal the names of Satamagha, Vijayamagha and several others,[118] who were probably later members of the dynasty.

Some sealings from Rajghat, of exactly same types as those of the Maghas reveal the names of Kṛishṇasena, Harisena, *Rājan* Bhīmasena, *Mahāsenāpati* Rudramagha and *Rājan* Kautsīputra Śivamagha.[119] Of them *Rājan* Bhīmasena may be identified with *Rājan* Vāśishṭhīputra Śri Bhīmasena of the Bhiṭā seal, which is of the same type. *Rājan* Kautsīputra Śivamagha is apparently differentiated from *Rājan* Gautamīputra Śivamagha of the Bhiṭā seal by his metronymic. Although Kautsīputra Śivamagha and *Mahāsenāpati* Rudramagha were of the Magha family, there is no clue to determine their dynastic positions. Kṛishṇasena and Harisena, whose seals bear close similarity to those of Bhīmasena, might also have belonged to the same family as that of the latter, which is suggested by their name-endings as well. The absence of the royal title before their names, however, may indicate that they were the predecessors of Bhīmasena who was the first independent ruler of the dynasty and was the first to assume the title *Rājan*.

The Magha inscriptions, dated as they are, help us to determine the approximate reign periods and order of succession of almost all the early rulers, excepting Śivamagha, none of whose inscriptions preserve the date. The identification of the era in which the Magha records are dated has been a point of much discussion amongst scholars. Cunningham,[120] Fleet,[121] and D. R. Sahni[122] identified it with the Gupta era, as the characters of the inscriptions are of the early Gupta type, and took the Maghas as Gupta feudatories. Jayaswal,[123] on the other hand, took the Maghas as feudatories of the Vākāṭakas and thought that the Magha records were dated in the Kala-

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118 Ibid., IV, p. 10, Pl. I. 11 (Satamagha) ; ibid., p. 11, Pl. I. 12-13, and ibid., XI, p. 13, Pl. III. 6 (Vijayamagha). For others see below.

119 Ibid., XXIII, pp. 411-12.

120 *CASR*, XXI, p. 119.

121 *CII*, III, pp. 266 ff.

122 *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 159 ff.

123 *HI*, pp. 108-09 and 229-30. N. G. Majumdar (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, p. 146), Krishnadeva (ibid., p. 253) and A. Ghosh (*Ind. Cult.*, III, p. 179) are also in favour of the Kalachuri-Chedi era.

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churi-Chedi era of 248 A. D., which, according to him, marked the foundation of the Vākāṭaka power.

Modern scholars[124] have, however, pointed out that there is not always much difference between Kushāṇa and early Gupta characters and that there is nothing in the palaeography of these inscriptions which compels us to place them in the Gupta period and stands in the way of assigning them to the Kushāṇa period. Marshall's dating of Śivamagha's Bhiṭā seal in the second or third century A. D.[125] led Sten Konow to refer the era to the Kaṇishka reckoning.[126] Moreover, from the particular mode of dating and the language of the inscriptions which is Prakrit mixed with Sanskrit, G. Chatterji also comes to the conclusion that all these records are dated in the Śaka era.[127] It is interesting to note in this connection that Cunningham, while noticing the Giñjā inscription of Bhīmasena of Year 52, admits that although the characters of the inscription are of the earliest Gupta forms, 'the style of reckoning the date agrees so exactly with that used by the Indo-Scythian princes, Kaṇishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva, that I feel constrained to assign the record to the earlier period."[128]

The most serious objection against referring the dates to the Chedi or the Gupta era, as pointed out by Altekar, is the contemporaneity of some of these rulers with the Imperial Guptas, which it renders inevitable.[129] It is most unlikely that a conqueror like Samudragupta should allow a feudatory family ruling at Kauśāmbī in the heart of his dominions, to issue its own coinage. If the Maghas were Gupta feudatories, their records would have mentioned the names of their Gupta overlords ; for, the early Gupta feudatories, even in the distant parts of the empire, generally referred to the Gupta emperors in their records. The Śaka era was introduced in the locality by the Kushāṇas, and the Maghas who used this era, were

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124 Marshall, *ASR* 1911-12, p. 417 ; Sten Konow, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 247 ; and Motichandra, *JNSI*, II, pp. 95 ff.

125 *ASR* 1911-12, p. 50.

126 *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 247.

127 *Jha Com. Vol.*, pp. 101 ff. ; cf. also *AIU*, p. 175 in favour of Śaka era.

128 *CASR*, XXI, p. 120.

129 *NHIP*, VI, p. 41, n. 2.

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amongst the powers that rose after the decline of the Kushāṇas.

The earliest records of the Maghas are found at Giñjā and Bāndhogarh in the Rewa District of Madhya Pradesh. Over a score of these inscriptions were found in rock-cut caverns in Bāndhogarh. The main group of inscriptions introduces three generations of kings of whom very little or practically nothing was known so far. They are *Mahārāja* Vāśishṭhīputra Bhīmasena (Year 51), his son *Mahārāja* Kautsīputra Praushṭhaśrī (Years 86, 87, 88) and his son *Mahārāja* Kauśikīputra Bhaṭṭadeva or Bhadradeva (Year 90). These inscriptions record donations of several cave-dwellings and amenities like wells, gardens and *maṇḍapas*, near these dwellings.[130] *Mahārāja* Bhīmasena of the Bāndhogarḥ epigraph is identified with *Rājan* Vāśishṭhīputra Bhīmasena of a Bhiṭā seal, the metronymic being the same.[131] He is also known from the Giñjā hill inscription, dated in the Year 52 (A. D. 130). Recently a coin of Bhīmasena has come to light.

The next known date after Bhīmasena's Year 52 is Year 81 of Bhadramagha, known from a Kauśāmbī record. For the Years 86 and 87, there are records both for Praushṭhaśrī at Bāndhogarh and for Bhadramagha at Kauśāmbī. For Śivamagha we have got one record from Bāndhogarh and one from Kauśāmbī, the date portion of both of which is unfortunately lost. He is also known from his Bhiṭā seals and Fatehpur and Kauśāmbī coins.

Altekar identifies Bhadramagha of the Kauśāmbī inscriptions with Bhadradeva or Bhaṭṭadeva of the Bāndhogarh inscriptions.[132] Thus, he holds that Bhīmasena was ruling in the jungles of Baghelkhand and Rewa, where the Kushāṇas did not penetrate and that Kauśāmbī could not have been under his sway as the Kushāṇas were then in the zenith of their power.

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130 *Ancient India*, No. 5, p 52 ; also *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 167 ff.

131 A. Ghosh distinguishes Bhimasena of the seal from Bhimasena of the inscription because of the difference in titles : *Ind. Cult.*, III, p. 179. But *Rājan* and *Mahārāja* in private records probably did not make any difference in the status of a ruler. For contrary view cf. Motichandra, *JNSI*, II, p. 99, Altekar, *NHIP*, VI, p. 42, and Sircar, *AIU*, p. 176, all of whom have taken both *Rājan* Bhimasena and *Mahārāja* Bhimasena as identical. He is most probably to be identified with *Rājan* Bhimasena of the Rajghat seals.

132 *JJRI*, I, p. 150 ; also *NHIP*, VI, p. 43, n. 1.

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He was succeeded by his son Praushṭhaśrī and it was to the credit of Bhadramagha (*alias* Bhadradeva), the heir-apparent, that Kauśāmbī was annexed to the Magha kingdom and therefore Bhadramgha was allowed to rule at Kauśāmbī as an independent ruler even during the lifetime of his father Praushṭhaśrī. Magha, the foreign minister of Praushṭhaśrī (known from Bāndhogarh inscriptions)[133] was the guiding sprit in the foreign policy of Bhadramagha who took advantage of the decaying power of the Kushāṇas under Vāsudeva I and managed to extend the kingdom beyond Kauśāmbī by his own valour, more probably by diplomacy. From 168 A. D., after the death of his father, his inscriptions begin to appear at Bāndhhogarh also (Year 90 of Bhadradeva or Bhaṭṭadeva). According to Altekar, Praushṭhaśrī started issuing coins towards the end of his rule ; but, the regular Magha coinage was started by Bhadramagha who determined the type which was to continue for generations. Again, Altekar holds that Bhadramagha was succeeded by Śivamagha who ruled just before Vaiśravaṇa.

But it is difficult to maintain Altekar's presumptions. First, the assumption that Bhīmasena had nothing to do with Kauśāmbī may not be totally correct. For, in view of the conservatism of Indian coins, the discovery of Bhīmasena's coins with the types of Nava of Kauśāmbī suggests some connection of Bhīmasena with the Kauśāmbī region. As we have seen from the stratification of coins in the Kauśāmbī excavations, the immediate successors of the Kushāṇas at Kauśāmbī were the Nava group of rulers, and not the Maghas. Kauśāmbī therefore seems to have been recovered from the Kushāṇas by the rulers of the dynasty of Dhanadeva and Nava, and not by the Maghas. It is, however, possible that while Dhanadeva and others were ruling at Kauśāmbī proper, Bhīmasena was ruling at Bāndhogarh along with some adjoining portion of the kingdom of Kauśāmbī, as is indicated by his Kauśāmbī type of coins.

Secondly, the placing of Śivamagha in between Bhadramagha and Vaiśravaṇa does not seem to be plausible. For, the gap of 17 years between the last date of Bhadramagha (i. e. Year 90 of Bhadradeva or Bhaṭṭadeva as identified with Bhadramagha

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133 *Ep. Ind*, XXXI, p. 181, Nos. VIII-IX.

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by Altekar) and the first date of Vaiśravaṇa (i. e. Year 107) can be easily divided between the closing years of the former and the early years of the latter. On the other hand, the gap of 29 years between the Year 52 of Bhīmasena and Year 81 of Bhadramagha cannnot be so easily explained. It may here be pointed out that while we get the seals of Bhīmasena and Śivamagha and a coin of Praushṭhaśrī at Bhīṭā, no coin or seal of Bhadramagha is found there. If Bhadramagha was a predecessor of Śivamagha, it is strange that he is not represented in the Bhīṭā finds, when two of his predecessors (i. e. Bhīmasena and Praushṭhaśrī) as well as his supposed successor (Śivamagha) are represented there. Moreover, the Bhīṭā seals of Bhīmasena and Śivamagha are strikingly similar to each other, only the symbols are transposed.[134] From the stratification as well as from the similarity of the seals, therefore, it seems that the two rulers were not far separated in time and both of them flourished before the end of Vāsudeva's reign. For no Kushāṇa coins later than those of Huvishka are found in the ruins at Bhīṭā, while only one coin-mould for Vāsudeva's gold coins was recovered.[135] It is therefore more likely that Śivamagha was the immediate successor of Bhīmasena and the predecessor of Bhadramagha and his undated inscriptions account for the gap of 29 years.[136]

Then, if Bhīmasena was succeeded by Śivamagha, it was Śivamagha, not Bhadramagha, whose inscription first appears at Kauśāmbī and whose coin-type was used by the later Maghas of Kauśāmbī. The credit of annexing Kauśāmbī proper to the Magha dominions (probably from the hands of the Nava group of rulers and not from the Kushāṇas), then goes to Śivamagha, not to Bhadramagha.

Lastly, the identification of Bhadramagha with Bhadradeva or Bhaṭṭadeva is unwarranted.[137] There is no reason why the dynastic appellation *magha*, invariably found in the former's Kauśāmbī inscriptions as well as on his coins should be omitted

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134 Cf. *ASR* 1911-12, p. 51, Pl. XVIII. 26 (Śivamagha) and 27 (Bhimasena).

135 Cf. ibid., pp. 62-65.

136 Cf. also Motichandra, *JNSI*, II, p. 99 and N. P. Chakravarti, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, p. 171.

137 Cf. D. C. Sircar, *AIU*, p. 176.

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and changed in the Bāndhogarh inscription to 'deva'. The assumption that Bhadramagha was the son and successor of Praushṭhaśrī rests on uncertain grounds and is hence difficult to accept.

In the light of our above observations, the early history of the Maghas may now be reconstructed. The inferior title *rājan* on his Bhiṭā (as well as Rajghat) seal as against the higher title *mahārāja* used in his inscriptions, may suggest (if the two terms really signified any difference in the status of the ruler) that Bhīmasena probably started his career as a feudatory, and later on gained the independent status of a king. Now, the Years 51-52 (129-30 A. D.) of Bhīmasena would make him a contemporary of the Kushāṇa emperor Huvishka (Years 28-60, i. e. 106-138 A. D.) on the one hand, and the Śātavāhana emperor Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (c. 106 to 130 A. D.) on the other.[138] While the use of the Śaka era in the Magha records suggests that Bhīmasena was originally a feudatory of the Kushāṇas,[139] the close similarity of the symbols, viz. the pile of balls and the bow and arrow on Bhīmasena's Bhiṭā seal with those on some Andhra coins is also remarkable.[140] It may again be recalled that the Purāṇas make the 'Meghas' (i. e. Maghas) lords of (South) Kośala; and, according to the tradition recorded by Hiuen Tsang, Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi held sway over South Kośala[141] which is, however, conspicuous by its absence in the list of countries forming parts of Gautamīputra's empire.[142]

Whoever might have been his overlord, Bhīmasena appears to have attained the status of an independent king towards the end of his reign, with his headquarters at Bāndhogarh. He might have also snatched away some portion of Kauśāmbī from the Kushāṇas during the latter part of the reign of

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138 For the dates of Huvishka and Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, see *AIU*, pp. 150 and 202 respectively.

139 Cf. Sircar, *AIU*, p 175.

140 Probably because of this similarity Marshall wrongly calls Bhimasena "a new addition to the Vāśishṭhīputra line of Andhra rulers": cf. *ASR* 1911-12, p. 51. This similarity may also signify the proximity of the early territory of Bhimasena to that of the Śātavāhanas.

141 *AIU*, p. 204.

142 Cf. Nasik Cave inscription of Vāśishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, Year 19: *SI*, pp. 196 ff.

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Huvishka, while the major part of it was probably recovered by Dhanadeva.

As we have seen, Śivamagha was probably the successor of Bhīmasena, but we do not know how the two were related.[143] Śivamagha's records show that his dominions included both Bāndhogarh and Kauśāmbī proper. He also introduced the characteristic type of Magha coins. As the last known date of Bhīmasena is Year 52 (130 A. D.) and the next known date is Year 81 (159 A. D.) of Bhadramagha, Śivamagha who ruled between them may roughly be assigned a reign of 20 years—from about 135 to 155 A D.

Śivamagha's death might have been followed by a civil war in the royal family, as contemporary records of Praushṭhaśrī at Bāndhogarh and of Bhadramagha at Kauśāmbī are known to us. Kautsīputra Praushṭhaśrī, son of Bhīmasena, probably managed to seize his paternal dominions at Bāndhogarh where ten of his inscriptions of Years 86, 87 and 88 appear. Out of the ten records, eight are dated in the Year 86, which was marked by a great activity when many of the cave-dwellings were excavated. Some coins of this king have been found at Bhīṭā[144] along with the seals of Bhīmasena and Śivamagha. No inscription of this king is found at Kauśāmbī, although probably some of his coins are found there.[145] On the other hand, while we get the records of Praushṭhaśrī for the Years 86 and 87 at Bāndhogarh, those of Bhadramagha for the same years are found at Kauśāmbī. From this it is apparent that Praushṭhaśrī and Bhadramagha ruled contemporaneously and independently at Bāndhogarh and Kauśāmbī respectively. Praushṭhaśrī's rule at Bāndhogarh must have ended by the Year 90 when he was succeeded by his son Bhadradeva who is identical with Bhaṭṭadeva (Bhaḍadeva) of another undated

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143 It has been doubted if Bhimasena and his successors Praushṭhaśrī and Bhadradeva of the Bāndhogarh line had actually any direct relationship with Śivamagha and other Magha rulers of Kauśāmbī : cf. N. P. Chakravarti, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, p. 176. It is, however, possible that Śivamagha was a younger step-brother of Bhimasena or an elder step-brother of Praushṭhaśrī.

144 *ASR* 1911-12, p. 65, Nos. 43-71.

145 *JNSI*, IV, pp. 136-37, Pl. XII. 2-5 ; cf. *AIU*, p. 175, n. 1 for the reading of the name.

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Bāndhogarh inscription. The position of *Mahārāja* (?) Vāśishṭhīputra Chitrasena is not certain. But he seems to have been quite close in time with Praushṭhaśrī, as the apparently identical donor Phalgu appears in his Bāndhogarh inscription as well as in Poṭhasiri's (Praushṭhaśrī's) record of Year 87 found at the same place.[146] It is possible that Chitrasena ruled for a very short time and came in between Praushṭhaśrī and Bhadradeva.[147]

Bhadramagha's relationship either with Praushṭhaśrī or with Śivamagha is not known[148], but he appears to have been the successor of the latter at Kauśāmbī, while Praushṭhaśrī, son of Bhīmasena, probably rebelled against Bhadramagha's authority and established himself independently at Bāndhogarh. There is, however, no evidence of Bhadramagha's rule at Bāndhogarh. We get the maximum number of inscriptions for Bhadramagha's reign dated in the Years 81, 83, 86 and 87 (=165 A. D.)—all from Kauśāmbī. He is also represented by his Fatehpur and Kauśāmbī coins. As the next known date is Year 107 (=185 A. D.) for Vaiśravaṇa of a Kauśāmbī inscription, Bhadramagha may be assigned a reign of about 25 years (c. 155 to 180 A. D.) and he was probably succeeded by Vaiśravaṇa at Kauśāmbī.

Vaiśravaṇa seems also to have succeeded Bhadradeva or Bhaṭṭadeva at Bāndhogarh, where two of his undated inscriptions are found. While one of these inscriptions gives no royal title to him, the other calls him a *rājan* as against the higher title *mahārāja* applied to his name in his Kauśāmbī inscription. If the title *rājan* actually denoted a lower position than that of a *mahārāja* at that time, it is possible that his rule at Bāndhogarh was in the capacity of a viceroy, probably under the suzerainty of Bhadramagha at Kauśāmbī.[149] Subsequently,

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146 Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, p. 184, No. XV (Chitasena) and p. 185, No. XVII (Poṭhasiri, Year 87.)

147 N. P. Chakravarti makes Chitrasena "the successor of Bhadradeva in the line of king Bhimasena" (ibid., p. 172). D. C. Sircar, however, doubts if Chitrasena was a king at all (ibid., p. 184, n. 4).

148 If Bhadramagha was a successor of Śivamagha, he might have been a son of the latter.

149 N. P. Chakravarti's view that there were two Vaiśravaṇas as differentiated by their titles (ibid, p. 176) cannot be maintained (cf. Sircar, ibid., n. 6).

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however, he succeeded Bhadramagha as the *mahārāja* of Kauśāmbī. His relationship with Bhadramagha is not known. He is called the son of *Mahāsenāpati* Bhadrabāla in his Bāndhogarr inscriptions, but this Bhadrabāla cannot be identified either with Bhadramagha or with Bhadradeva.[150] According to N. P. Chakravarti, the title *Mahāsenāpati*, as applied to the name of Bhadrabāla, might have been a title of nobility, and is not necessarily to be taken in the literal sense of the Commander-in-chief of the Army.[151] It is, however, doubtful whether a person having nothing to do with the army enjoyed the title. Vaiśravaṇa is also represented by coins discovered at Fatehpur and Kauśāmbī.

For twenty-three years between the Year 107 of Vaiśravaṇa and the Year 130 (208 A. D.) of Bhīmavarman of a Kausāmbī inscription, we get no dated record. But the Fatehpur hoard, which contains coins of Śivamagha, Bhadramagha, Vaiśravaṇa and Bhīmavarman[152], seems to indicate that no other king ruled between any two of these four kings. Vaiśravaṇa's rule therefore extended probably from about 180 A. D. to 200 A. D. for twenty years, when he was succeeded by Bhīmavarman. The last known date of Bhīmavarman is Year 139 (217 A.D.) as found on a Kauśāmbī inscription.[153] We get no inscription of Bhīmavarman or any of his successors at Bāndhogarh which probably slipped out of their control after Vaiśravaṇa. Bhīmavarman's coins are known from Kauśāmbī as well as from Fatehpur. His rule might have ended about 220-225 A.D., and after Bhīmavarman no inscription of the dynasty is found at Kauśāmbī also.

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150 Cf. *AIU*, p. 176. For the identification of Bhadrabāla with Bhadramagha see Mirashi, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, p. 299, Motichandra, *JNSI*, II, p. 102, and Altekar, *NHIP*, VI, p. 45. N. P. Chakravarti suggests that Bhadrabāla was the originator of the Bāndhogarh line and was succeeded by Bhimasena (*Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, p. 176). But this suggestion is unconvincing.

151 *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 52, n. 8 and ibid., XXXI, p. 171.

152 Cf. *JNSI*, II, pp. 95 ff.

153 While Fleet (*CII*, III, p. 266) dates this inscription in the Gupta era, A. Ghosh dates the inscription of Year 130 in the Kalachuri-Chedi era and thus postulates the existence of two Bhimavarmans, separated by about a century (*Ind. Cult.*, III, pp. 177 ff.). But as all the Magha inscriptions are now held to be dated in the Śaka era, this view in untenable.

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Besides the above seven kings, viz. Bhīmasena, Śivamagha, Praushṭhaśrī, Bhadradeva, Bhadramagha, Vaiśravaṇa and Bhīmavarman known from their inscriptions and coins, the names of Satamagha and Vijayamagha are known from coins alone. Some other coins on which the reading of the legend is doubtful probably also reveal the names of a few more kings, such as Puramagha (?), Yajñamagha (?) Śaṅkumagha (?) and Jayamagha (?).[154] It is thus possible that there were more than nine kings in the Magha dynasty. As the succession of the seven kings from Bhīmasena to Bhīmavarman is more or less determined by their dated inscriptions, the other rulers represented by their coins alone, were probably later than Bhīmavarman. For the Magha power seems to have declined after him, and we do not find any more dated record. If we allow roughly a period of 50 years for the successors of Bhīmavarman, the termination of the rule of the dynasty would be about 270-275 A. D. In any case, the Maghas do not appear to have been in power after the end of the third century A.D.

The Bāndhogarh cave-dwellings which, as observed by N. P. Chakravarti, are the earliest rock-cut caves dedicated to Śaiva worship[155], may indicate the Saivite leanings of the Magha rulers, as also suggested by the figure of bull on their coins and seals. The excavations of the so-called Ghoshitārāma monastery at Kauśāmbī, however, shows that the Maghas were not intolerant towards Buddhism ; for, out of the sixteen successive phases of structural activity found there, the maximum growth took place in the eleventh phase, during the rule of the Maghas, particularly of Bhadramagha whose name was found inscribed on a jar.[156]

Besides the seals of Bhīmasena and Śivamagha, the excavations at Bhīṭā have yielded a few other interesting seals revealing the names of some otherwise unknown rulers. One of

154 Ibid., VIII, p. 8, Pl. I. 2-3 (Puramagha ?) ; ibid., p. 9, Pl. I. 4 (Yajñamagha ?) ; *AIU*, p. 175 (Śaṅkumagha ?) ; and *BMC* (*AI*), pp. 158-59, Nos. 68-70, *JNSI*, XI, p. 12, Pl. III. 4 and ibid., XII, p. 83, Pl. V. 43, 45 (Jayamagha ?). We do not know if Jayamagha and Vijayamagha are identical or two different kings ; the reading, *Jayamagha*, may be a part of the fragmentary legend—*Vijayamagha*.

155 *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, p. 173.

156 *IAR* 1955-56, p. 20.

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the seals bears the following legend in characters of about the third century A.D. :

"Śrī-Vindhya-be(ve)dhana-mahārājasya Maheśvara-Mahāsena-ātisṛishṭa-rājyasya Vṛishadhvajasya Gautamīputrasya,"

translated by Marshall as : "Of the illustrious Mahārāja Gautamīputra Vṛishadhvaja, the penetrator of the Vindhyas, who had made over his kingdom to the Great Lord Kārttikeya."[157]

D. C. Sircar, however, regards Vindhyavedhana as the (proper) name of the king who "received his kingdom through Maheśvara and Mahāsena and had the bull as his banner", thus taking Vṛishadhvaja as the epithet of the king.[158] The seal bears in field "pile of balls with a post on each side, a wavy line below, and the sun and the crescent above—symbols typically characteristic of the coins of the Andhra and Kshatrapa dynasties."[159] This shows that *Mahārāja* Vindhyavedhana or Vṛishadhvaja, the issuer of the seal, though a ruler of the Kauśāmbī area, might have had some connection with the South. His name or epithet *Vindhyavedhana*, i. e. 'the penetrator of the Vindhyas' as well as the South Indian style of the palaeography of his seal also suggests this. It is not known if this king founded a new dynasty at Kauśāmbī after the extinction of the Maghas.[160]

Another Bhīṭā seal of about the fourth century A. D. reveals the name of *Mahārāja* Saṁkarasiṁha who might have been a successor of Vindhyavedhana Vṛishadhvaja.[161] From other Bhīṭā seals of about the same period, we know the names of *Mahādevī* Rudramatī and *Mahāśvapati Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Vishṇurakshita, who were most probably associated with the Kauśāmbī kings.[162]

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157 *ASR* 1911-12, p. 50, No. 25.

158 *AIU*, p. 177.

159 *ASR* 1911-12, pp. 50-51, Pl. XVIII. 25.

160 Jayaswal's identification of Gautamīputra Vindhyavedhana Vṛishadhvaja with Vākāṭaka Gautamīputra, son of Pravarasena I (*HI*, pp. 228-229) is not acceptable.

161 *AIU*, p. 177.

162 Ibid. ; for the seal of Rudramatī, see *ASR* 1911-12, p. 52, No. 30. It is not known if Achyutavarman and Mānyāditya of the Rajghat sealings (*JNSI*, XXIII, p. 412, Nos. 13-14) were connected with the Kauśāmbī region.

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One Śrī Rudra, known from a coin found at Kauśāmbī[163], has been identified with Rudradeva who was one of the rulers of Āryāvarta violently extirpated by Samudragupta, as known from his Allahabad pillar inscription. The type of king Rudra's coin has, however, no similarity with the Kauśāmbī series of coins. It is therefore doubtful if Rudra actually ruled at Kauśāmbī.

II. AYODHYĀ

The dynastic issues of Ayodhyā fall into two very distinct classes : "one of square cast coins showing no trace of foreign influence, and one of round struck pieces which have types rather than symbols."[164] The square cast coins (Class II of *BMC*) generally bear on the obverse the figure of a bull or rarely an elephant before a symbol (S 5, not always distinct) and on the reverse, a group of several symbols (S 13, 19, 26, 28, 29, 34—mostly five), in various combinations. Besides these almost common types, some of the kings represented by coins of Class II also struck a few other personal types. The rulers, as known from coins of Class II[165], are :

(1) Dhanadeva
(2) Mūladeva
(3) Poṭhadeva (Praushṭhadeva)
(4) Vāyudeva
(5) Viśākhadeva
(6) Jyeṭhadata (Jyeshṭhadatta)
(7) Naradata (Naradatta) and
(8) Śivadata (Śivadatta)

Of these rulers, only one, viz. Dhanadeva is mentioned in an Ayodhyā inscription which, on palaeographical grounds, is assigned to the end of the first century B. C.[166] In this inscription, Dhanadeva, son of Phalgudeva is called the king of Kośala, and sixth in descent from *Senāpati* Pushyamitra, the performer of two *Aśvamedha* sacrifices. And as Pushyamitra's reign terminated about the middle of the second century B. C., his sixth

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163 *JNSI*, XI, p. 13, Pl. III. 6.

164 *BMC(AI)*, p lxxxviii.

165 A terracotta sealing with the legend *Baladata*[*sa*] in characters of the second-first centuries B. C. was found in the excavation at Śrāvastī (Māhet) : see *IAR* 1958-59, pp. 47 ff. We do not know if this Baladatta was a ruling king of Ayodhyā.

166 Cf. *SI*, p. 96 and *AIU*, p. 173.

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descendant may very well be placed towards the end of the first century B. C.[167] Dhanadeva of our coins also, as suggested by the epigraphy of his coin-legend, may be referred to the same period. We have, therefore, no difficulty in identifying the two Dhandevas. There is thus a fixed point for us to start with.

Now, Vāyudeva seems to be particularly connected with Dhanadeva by one type of coin, the obverse of which shows 'a bull standing before a symbol (S 5)' and the reverse, a standing figure (Lakshmī ?) between two uncertain symbols (S 13 and S 26 ?).[168] Vāyudeva may not, therefore, be far separated in time from Dhanadeva.

Again, according to V. A. Smith, coins of Dhanadeva and Viśākhadeva are nearly of the same period and "either prince may be regarded as the predecessor of the other."[169] One of the types of Viśākhadeva exhibits 'Lakshmī standing between two elephants anointing her' on the obverse, and seven symbols (S 10, 13, 19, 26, 28, 29 and 40) on the reverse.[170] The standing figure of Lakshmī closely resembles the figure on the coins of Dhanadeva (mentioned above) but the only difference lies in the fact that the symbols on either side of Lakshmī as seen on Dhanadeva's coins are replaced by elephants on the coins of Viśākhadeva.

Viśākhadeva is, again, connected with another ruler Śivadatta who also issued coins of the 'Gaja-Lakshmī' type.[171] But unlike the coins of Viśākhadeva, Śivadatta's coins depict Lakshmī as seated (not standing). Viśākhadeva is thus connected by type with Dhanadeva on the one hand, and Śivadatta on the other, and comes in between them. And Vāyudeva, who is connected with Dhanadeva alone, might have been his near predecessor.

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167 Cf. *AIU*, p. 174. This Dhanadeva cannot be identified with Dhanadeva of Kauśāmbī coins, who flourished much later, as we have seen above p. 124, n. 88.

168 Cf. *BMC(AI)*, p. 131, Pl. XVII. 8 (Vāyudeva) and p. 132, Pl. XVI. 17 (Dhanadeva).

169 *IMC*, p. 144.

170 *BMC(AI)*, p. 131, Pl. XVI. 14.

171 Ibid., p. 133, Pl. XLIII. 5.

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Mūladeva, as known from his Bull-type coins alone[172], seems to have preceded all the above four princes who continued the type and made it a common device for the coins of their successors as well. Poṭhadeva (Praushṭhadeva)[173] who is not known to have used the 'Bull' type, common to the Ayodhyā rulers, might have been a predecessor of Mūladeva who probably introduced it.

Of the Dattas, Śivadatta[174] appears to be the earliest, as he is connected by the Gaja-Lakshmī type with Viśākhadeva. That he was also not far removed in time from Dhanadeva, the immediate predecessor of Viśākhadeva, is suggested by the fact that some coins of Dhanadeva and Śivadatta are very similar in style and fabric.[175] Since both Naradatta and Jyeshṭhadatta are known from their coins of the common Ayodhyā type alone[176], it is not easy to determine which of them preceded the other.

From the above study of their coins, we may arrange the rulers represented by the square cast coins in the following order[177] :—

(1) Praushṭhadeva
(2) Mūladeva

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172 Ibid., p. 130, Pl. XVI. 11. We do not know if this Mūladeva is identifiable with Mūladeva, the murderer of Vasumitra Śuṅga, according to some MSS. of the *Harshacharita* (see infra, Ch. II).

173 He is known only from his elephant-type coin : *BMC* (*AI*), p. 135, Pl. XLIII. 7.

174 The identity of this Śivadatta with his namesake of the Almorā coins [*BMC* (*AI*), p. 120, Pl. XIV. 7] is doubtful (see Ch. VII below).

175 Cf. *BMC*(*AI*), p. 133, Pl. XLIII. 4 (Dhanadeva) and Pl. XLIII. 5 (Śivadatta). Because of their striking similarity, these coins are wrongly described as of the same type and attributed to the same king, viz. Śivadatta, but coin No. 4 as seen on the plate is actually of a different type and is to be attributed to Dhanadeva : cf. *JNSI*, XIII, p. 197.

176 *BMC*(*AI*), p. 134, Pl. XLIII. 6 (Naradatta) and *JNSI*, VIII, p. 14, Pl. I. 14 (Jyeshṭhadatta). This Jyeshṭhadatta does not seem to have issued the two round die-struck coins of different types with purely Sanskritic legend—*Jyeshṭhadattasya*—found from Bairāṅt and Indore Khera, though assigned (perhaps wrongly) by Allan to the end of the second century B. C. [see *BMC*(*AI*), p. cliii, p. 279, No. 2 Pl. XLV. 10 ; and *IMC*, p. 205, No. 3 Pl. XXIII. 7.] Jeṭhadata of the Rajghat seal (*JNSI*, XXIII, p. 411, No. 2) was probably somewhat earlier than Jeṭhadata of the Ayodhyā coins.

177 This list may probably supply us with the missing links between Pushyamitra and Dhanadeva, sixth in descent from the former, in the following order : (1)

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(3) Vāyudeva
(4) Dhanadeva
(5) Viśākhadeva
(6) Śivadatta
(7) Naradatta
(8) Jyeshṭhadatta

If the line of Dhanadeva originated during the time of Pushyamitra, from whom it claims descent, then it probably began to rule from about the middle of the second century B.C. And if Dhanadeva, who was the sixth in descent from Pushyamitra, is placed towards the end of the first century B.C., his four successors, as known from coins, may roughly be assigned a period of about a century. The end of the rule of the princes represented by the square cast coins of Ayodhyā may therefore be dated about the latter part of the first century A. D.[178] Now, some inscriptions dated in the Kaṇishka era are found in Set Mahet near Ayodhyā[179], which fact indicates that Ayodhyā formed part of Kaṇishka's dominions. It is thus quite likely that the early ruling dynasty of Ayodhyā was brought to an end by Kaṇishka himself.[180]

Absence of any dated inscription of the time of Huvishka or his successors in the Ayodhyā area indicates that the hold of the rulers who came after Kaṇishka was weakened over that region. It was probably during this period (about the middle of the second century A.D.) that the indigenous rulers of Ayodhyā, as known from the round die-struck coins (Class III of *BMC*), asserted their independence. Very distinct from the squarish cast pieces of the earlier rulers, these die-struck coins bear a bull on the obverse and a cock or a *nandipada* on the reverse, and represent the following rulers :—

(1) Ajavarman
(2) Āyumitra
(3) Devamitra
(4) Kumudasena
(5) Mādhavavarman
(6) Saṅghamitra
(7) Satyamitra
(8) Vijayamitra

A daughter of Pushyamitra (?), (2) Praushṭhadeva, (3) Mūladeva, (4) Vāyudeva, (5) Phalgudeva (known from inscription only), and (6) Dhanadeva.

178 These rulers are, however, assigned to the second century B. C. by both Cunningham (*CAI*, pp. 90-91) and Allan [*BMC* (*AI*), p. lxxxix], but that date seems to be too early and cannot be accepted.

179 *SI*, p. 140.

180 Cf. *AIU*, p. 162 ; see also p. 141 for the extent of Kaṇishka's empire.

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Of these rulers, Kumudasena[181], Ajavarman[182] and Mādhavavarman[183] seem to be the earliest, as their coins exhibit a square incuse, characteristic of the earliest struck coins of India.[184] Moreover, on their coins the object (S 6) in front of the bull is similar to that (S 5) on the previous series of cast coins, which is replaced by a ceremonial standard (S 45) on the coins of other (evidently later) rulers of the die-struck series. Of all the Ayodhyā rulers Kumudasena alone used the title *rājan* on his coins. We do not know why his successors did not follow him in this respect.

Of the other rulers (that is, the Mitras), Saṅghamitra[185] and Vijayamitra[186] are connected with Kumudasena, Ajavarman and Mādhavavarman by a common reverse type, viz. 'an elaborate *nandipada* in a framework' (S 24 and S 24A).[187] Of these two Mitra rulers again, Vijayamitra[188] alone used another reverse type, viz. 'the cock on post and tree',[189] which became the characteristic reverse device for other Mitra rulers who therefore appear to have followed him. Saṅghamitra who did not use that reverse type was probably the earliest of the Mitra rulers of Ayodhyā.

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181 *BMC* (*AI*), p. 137, Pl. XVII. 17.

182 *IMC*, p. 150, No. 16 Pl. XIX. 16.

183 *JASB* 1880, p. 138, Pl. XVI. 5.

184 Cf. Rapson, *JRAS* 1903, p. 287.

185 *BMC* (*AI*), p. 138, Pl. XVII. 21.

186 Ibid., p. 139, Pl. XVIII. 3 (obv.) and 5 (rev.).

187 Cf. the rev. symbol of Almorā coins (S 25) : ibid., p. 120, Pl. XIV. 8.

188 Ibid., p. 138, Pl. XVII. 22. This Vijayamitra cannot possibly be identified with the Kulūta chief of that name known from coins found at Taxila (see *Taxila*, II, p. 820, Nos. 252-53 ; cf. also pp. 103-04 above). It is perhaps not unlikely that Vijayamitra of an Allahabad Museum sealing (*JNSI*, XXVIII, pp. 207-08, Pl. VI. 6), bearing the figure of a 'bull', characteristic of the Ayodhyā coins, and the legend *Vijayamitrasya* in characters of about the first-second centuries A.D., is identical with Vijayamitra of the Ayodhyā coins.

189 Smith (*IMC*, p. 151, Nos. 29, 31-32) describes the symbol as 'cock on top of post', while, according to Allan [*BMC* (*AI*), p. lxxxix] it is 'a bird, usually called a cock but probably a *haṁsa*' (although called in the Catalogue 'a cock'). J.N. Banerjea thinks that Smith's description is correct and that the device is "just a numismatic characterisation of the *kukkuṭadhvaja*, one of the earliest plastic representations of which was found at Lālā Bhagat near Kanpur."—*JNSI*, XXII, p. 43 ; *DHI*[2], pp. 105-06 and 141. K. D. Bajpai, however, thinks that it is a peacock (*JNSI*, XXV, p. 109).

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An approximate idea of the chronological sequence of the Mitra rulers from Vijayamitra downwards may be formed with the help of a comparative study of the letter *ma* on their coin-legends. Vijayamitra used the early round form of *ma*[190] together with another type of a little later period[191] used also by Devamitra.[192] A third form of *ma* of a still later date was used by Satyamitra[193] whose coins also exhibit a fourth type of the letter which was almost of the Gupta period and certainly the latest.[194] Finally, Āyumitra's position was evidently the last in the chronological sequence as the fourth and the latest type of *ma* is seen on his coins.[195]

The chronological position of the rulers represented by the round die-struck coins of Class III may therefore be as follows :—

(1) Kumudasena
(2) Ajavarman
(3) Mādhavavarman
(4) Saṅghamitra
(5) Vijayamitra
(6) Devamitra
(7) Satyamitra
(8) Āyumitra

Taking an average of twenty years for each king's reign, we may allot a little more than a century and a half for the reign of the above eight rulers. And as it seems likely that Kumudasena, the earliest of them, began his reign sometime about 150 A. D., the latest, viz. Āyumitra possibly ended his rule towards the closing years of the third or the beginning

190 *BMC* (*AI*), p. 139, Pl. XVIII. 5.

191 Ibid., Pl. XVIII. 1.

192 *IMC*, p. 151, No. 28 Pl. XIX. 18; see also *JNSI*, XXV, p. 108, Pl. II. 6.

193 *BMC* (*AI*), p. 136, Pl. XVII. 13. This Satyamitra cannot be identified with Satamitra of the Kauśāmbi coins, as we have seen above, p. 121 ; nor can he be the same as the doubtful Satyamitra of the Kulūtas : cf. p. 101 above.

194 Ibid., p. 136, Pl. XVII. 12.

195 Ibid., p. 137, Pl. XVII. 18. The legend on the coin is *Ayumitasa* as read by V. A. Smith (*IMC*, I, p. 150, No. 17 Pl. XIX. 17), not *Āyyamitasa* as given by J. Allan ; cf. also p. 97, n. 27 above.

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of the fourth century A. D., when the Guptas were rising. It is therefore probable that the ruling dynasty of Ayodhyā was overthrown by one of the early Gupta princes, for the Purāṇas inform us that Sāketa (adjoining Ayodhyā) was included in the Gupta empire about the time of its foundation.[196]

196 *DKA*, p. 53 (text) and p. 73 (trans.).

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Chapter VI

KĀNYAKUBJA AND MATHURA

I. KĀNYAKUBJA

Kānyakubja, Kanyākubja, etc. (mod. Kanauj) is situated in the Farrukhabad District of Uttar Pradesh. The name Kānyakubja, like the city itself, is ancient.[1] It is mentioned in the list of holy places or '*tīrthas*' in the *Mahābhārata*.[2] The *Rāmāyaṇa*[3] knows the city, as the reference to the crippled (*kubja*) maidens (*kanyā*), the daughters of Kuśanābha, indicates. Patañjali in his *Mahābhāshya* uses the word *Kānyakubjī* in the sense of a woman born at Kānyakubja,[4] which shows that the city existed as early as the second century B.C. Fa Hien visited the place in the beginning of the fifth century A.D, while Hiuen Tsang informs us that it was once known as 'Kusumapura' or 'Flower-town', a name also applied to Pāṭaliputra.[5] The antiquity as well as the cultural continuity of the city was revealed also by a limited excavation in 1955-56 at the mound at Kanauj.[6] The excavated site, through its 40 feet thick deposit, has brought to light four cultural periods dating from about 1000 B.C. to the late medieval times.

The coins so far attributed to Kanauj reveal the names of three rulers, Brahmamitra, Sūryamitra and Vishṇudeva. Of them, only the coin of Vishṇudeva is known to have come from Kanauj, while those of Brahmamitra and Sūryamitra are ascribed to this locality because of their general similarity with that of Vishṇudeva.[7] Coins of Brahmamitra[8] and Sūryamitra[9] exhibit on the obverse (above the issuer's name) three symbols,

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1 Cf. *JRAS* 1908, pp. 766-67.
2 *Mahābhārata*, iii, 8313 ; cf. *JRAS* 1908, p. 765, n. 1.
3 Cf. *JRAS* 1908, p. 765, n. 1.
4 *Mahābhāshya* (on Pāṇini, IV. 3. 25), Vol. II, p. 233, l. 7.
5 *JRAS* 1908, pp. 767-68.
6 *IAR* 1955-56, p. 19.
7 *BMC(AI)*, pp. xciii-iv ; *JRAS* 1893, p. 97.
8 *BMC(AI)*, p. 147, Pl. XIX. 11.
9 Ibid., p. 147, Pl. XIX. 12.

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viz., tree-within-railing (S 12), Ujjain symbol (S 27), and triangle-headed standard (S 3), arranged in different order on the coins of the two kings. The reverse symbols of none of these coins are, however, clear. Brahmamitra's coins have a *nandipada*-standard-in-railing and another indistinct symbol while that of Sūryamitra is quite illegible.

Another unassigned coin published by Smith[10] is of the same type and fabric as those of Brahmamitra and Sūryamitra and apparently belongs to the same series. The coin is evidently an overstruck one. The original obverse (described as 'reverse' by Smith), though now practically obliterated, seems to include the tree-in-railing symbol with the name of the issuer, Gomi[ta], below in a square incuse. The original reverse is completely erased by the overstruck device which consists of the three usual symbols seen on the obverse of the coins of Brahmamitra and Sūryamitra with the name of the overstriker, [Go ?]mita, below them in an incuse square. We do not know who Gomitra of the original coin was, though it is possible that he was a member of the family of Brahmamitra and Sūryamitra, since one of his obverse symbols seems to be the tree-in-railing. The overstriker, undoubtedly a different person from Gomitra of the original coin, probably belonged to the same group, as his obverse symbols indicate, though we are not sure of his name. It thus appears that there were two more Mitra kings connected with the Kanauj area, besides Brahmamitra and Sūryamitra. One of them might have been Gomitra, while the name of the other is not clear. On palaeographic grounds, Gomitra's coin may be assigned a date about the latter part of the second century B.C. The square incuse on his coin also suggests that he was an early ruler. Coins of Brahmamitra and Sūryamitra are assignable to the first century B.C.[11]

The coin of Vishṇudeva[12] is of different type. Besides the general fabric, the only common symbol that connects his coin with those of the Mitras is the tree-within-railing (S 12). The other two obverse symbols on Vishṇudeva's coin are somewhat unusual—one is 'a hare in the crescent moon' (S 9) found on

10 *IMC*, p. 205, No. 2 Pl. XXIII. 6.
11 Cf. Allan, *BMC(AI)*, p. xciii.
12 Ibid., p. 147, Pl. XIX. 13.

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a rare variety of silver punch-marked coins, and the other is a caduceus-like sign (S 23), a variety of which is also seen on punch-marked coins.[13] The reverse of the coin depicts a horse to left before a *yūpa*.

Another coin bearing exactly the same devices as that of Vishṇudeva both on the obverse and on the reverse reveals the name of one Śuṅgavarman.[14] K.D. Bajpai makes him a ruler of Kauśāmbī, since his coin is alleged to have come from Kauśāmbī.[15] He thinks that there was no separate dynasty at Kanauj, but that the Mitras as well as Vishṇudeva and Śuṅgavarman were all rulers of Kauśāmbī, and that Kanauj was included in the kingdom of Mathurā or Pañchāla.[16]

But this view can in no way be supported on numismatic grounds.[17] First, the rulers associated with the Kanauj region could not have belonged to the Kauśāmbī line, because none of their names occurs on coins of Kauśāmbī. Then, typologically the two series are entirely different. Of course, there are some interconnection of symbols, e.g. the Ujjain symbol (S 27), the tree-in-railing (S 12) and the triangle-headed standard (S 3), which are found regularly on the Mitra coins of Kanauj, also appear in one or other form on some Kauśāmbī coins. But these are very common Indian symbols which occur on various other series of coins. Again, the caduceus-like symbol (S 23) seen on the coins of Vishṇudeva and Śuṅgavarman also occurs on some early uninscribed cast coins of Kauśāmbī (but not on the issues of any Kauśāmbī ruler). On the other hand, 'Bull', the most characteristic device on all classes of Kauśāmbī coins is conspicuously absent on those of Kanauj. Thus, the fact that

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13 Cf. ibid., pp. xxviii, xciii, and p. 41, Pl. II. 17 (hare-on-moon) ; p. xxxiv, Pl. V. 1 and Pl. X. 7 (caduceus-like symbol).

14 *JNSI*, XXVII, pp. 188-189, Pl. III 5. Cf. also ibid., XXV, p. 243, Pl. I. 8, which probably belongs to this ruler.

15 Ibid., XXVI, p. 3.

16 Ibid., XXVII, p. 189.

17 It is very difficult to follow Bajpai's self-contradictory statements. If the rulers associated with Kanauj belonged to the Kauśāmbī line, as suggested by him, how are we to hold that Kanauj was included within Mathurā or Pañchāla ? Instead, it would have been logical to suggest that Kanauj was included within the kingdom of Kauśāmbī. But Bajpai himself points out that there is no evidence to show that the Kauśāmbī rulers extended their sway over Kanauj.

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some of the symbols on the two series are common may not necessarily signify any connection of the Kanauj rulers with Kauśāmbī. The characteristic series of Pañchāla coins has the least similarity with that of Kanauj.

It is, however, noteworthy that the names of all the three Mitras of Kanauj area, i.e., Brahmamitra, Gomitra and Sūryamitra also occur in the Mathurā series of coins.[18] Moreover, although the coins of Kanauj and Mathurā are distinct by their types and fabrics, the occurrence of the Ujjain symbol on both the Mitra series appears to be significant. For, as we shall see below (pp. 155-56), the Ujjain symbol (S 28) was probably the dynastic emblem of the Mitras of Mathurā as distinguished from the Dattas who had S 44 as their distinctive mark. In view of the fact that Kanauj is not far from Mathurā, it is possible that the three Mitra kings connected with Kanauj actually belonged to the family of the Mitras of Mathurā and extended their sway towards Kanauj. This seems all the more probable, since the find-spots of these coins are not known and since they bear little similarily with the only coin known to have come from Kanauj proper (i.e. the coin of Vishṇudeva). It is not unlikely that the territory for which these coins were issued, lay somewhere in between Mathurā and Kanauj and not in Kanauj proper. Thus, of the three obverse symbols of these coins, the Ujjain symbol seems to connect them with the Mitra coins of Mathurā, while the tree-symbol, also found on Vishṇudeva's coin, associates them with Kanauj.

If Brahmamitra, Gomitra and Sūryamitra actually belonged to the Mitra family of Mathurā and were identical with their Mathurā namesakes, ruling over Kanauj (or some place towards that direction), we have then to place Gomitra first in the chronological sequence, since he was also the earliest amongst the Mathurā Mitras (as we shall see below, p. 155). This is also supported by the date of Gomitra's Kanauj coin.

The name of one Sūryamitra occurs also on some coins found from Rairh in Jaipur District, bearing (for the issuer's name) the appellation—'Udehaki' or 'Sudavapa.'[19] And it is remarkable

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18 Cf. *BMC (AI)*, p. 170, Pl. XXV. 1 (Gomitra); p. 174, Pl. XXV. 17 (Sūryamitra); and p. 173, Pl. XXV. 12 (Brahmamitra).

19 Ibid., p. 240, Pl. XXXV. 17 and *JNSI*, III, p. 47, Pl. IV-A. 1-2.

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that all the three symbols found on the obverse of the Kanauj coins of Sūryamitra are also seen on one or other of these coins. Although the distance between Kanauj and the Uddehika country is the same as that between Kanauj and Mathurā[20], we are not sure if Sūryamitra of the Kanauj (and/or Mathurā) coins can be identified with his namesake of the Uddehika and/or 'Sudavapa' coins, as the significance of these appellations is a point of dispute. It seems far less possible that Sūryamitra of the distinct series of Pañchāla coins[21] was identical with any of these Sūryamitras.

Even if the Mitras did not belong to Kanauj proper, Vishṇudeva, whose coin is known to have come from Kanauj and which is distinct from any other series, is very likely to have belonged to a local dynasty. And Śuṅgavarman whose coin bears exactly the same devices (both on the obverse and on the reverse) as those on Vishṇudeva's coin must have been a member of the same family. He can in no way be regarded as a ruler of Kauśāmbī.

Śuṅgavarman was apparently earlier in date than Vishṇudeva, since the characters of his coin-legend are of a somewhat earlier form than those of the latter. Śuṅgavarman may be assigned a date about the second half of the second century B.C., while Vishṇudeva's date may be taken to be the first century B.C.[22] According to Smith, the figure of horse on Vishṇudeva's coin "can apparently mean nothing else than that Vishṇudeva, whoever he was, claimed the glory of having performed the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, entitling him to take rank as Lord Paramount of Northern India."[23] The device is no doubt somewhat similar to that on Samudragupta's *Aśvamedha* type coins,[24] but it is doubtful if it was really meant for commemorating an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, since Śuṅgavarman's coin also exhibits the same device. Although 'Horse' is not a very common device on the local coins, it is also found on some early Kau-

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20 *AIU*, p. 159, n. 3.

21 *BMC (AI)*, p. 193, Pl. XXVII. 8.

22 Cf. also Bajpai (*JNSI*, XXVII, p. 189) who assigns a date about the early part or the middle of the second century B.C. to Śuṅgavarman's coin. Vishṇudeva's coin is placed about the first century B.C. by Allan (*BMC, AI*, p. xciii).

23 *JRAS* 1893, p. 97.

24 Cf. *BMC (Gupta)*, pp. 21 ff., Pl. V. 9-14.

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śāmbī coins as well as on those of Mathurā, Pañchāla and Vārāṇasī.[25] If the device was really meant for 'horse-sacrifice', it is difficult to hold that it signified Vishṇudeva's claim for Lord Paramountcy of Northern India, in view of the existence of many other independent contemporary rulers known from their coins. It is possible that there were some other rulers between Śuṅgavarman and Vishṇudeva, since they appear to be separated by a considerable gap of time. It is not unlikely that Śuṅgavarman founded the dynasty of Kānyakubja about the latter part of the second century B.C., but it was not probably long in power after the first century B.C., since no ruler after Vishṇudeva is so far known. The line of Śuṅgavarman thus seems to have ruled at Kānyakubja almost contemporaneously with some of the early Mitras of Mathurā[26], who might have extended their sway towards some region between Mathurā and Kanauj, as indicated by the Mitra coins connected with the Kanauj area.

II. MATHURĀ

Mathurā, headquarters of the present Mathurā District of Uttar Pradesh, was the capital of the ancient Śūrasenas. It is situated on the right bank of the Jamunā, about 270 miles in a straight line north-west of Kauśāmbī. Modern Mathurā, however, is not exactly on the ancient site. It has moved to the north owing to the encroachment of the river.[27]

According to the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas, the ruling family of Mathurā belonged to the Yādava clan.[28] The Greek writers refer to the Sourasenoi and their cities Methora and Cleisobora.[29] Mathurā must have been included in the Maurya empire, when Megasthenes wrote about the Śūrasenas.[30] After the Mauryas, it was probably occupied for a short time by the Bactrian Greeks, as the siege of Mathurā by the Yavanas is

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25 Cf. the Horse-type coins of Bahasatimita I of Kauśāmbi (*BMC, AI*, p. 150, Pl. XX. 1), of Hagāna and Hagāmāsha of Mathurā (ibid., p. 184, Pl. XXVI.6), of Vasusena of Pañchāla (*JNSI*, II, p. 115, Pl. X-A, 6), and of Vārāṇasi (ibid., XII, pp. 134-35, Pl. XI. 5-6).

26 For the date of the Mathurā rulers see below, Sec. II.

27 *JASB* 1947, pp 21 ff.

28 Cf. *PHAI*[6], p. 138.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid., p. 143.

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referred to in the *Yugapurāṇa*.[31] Patañjali speaks of the *kārshāpaṇas* of Mathurā in his *Mahābhāshya*.[32] Pushyamitra presumably freed Mathurā from Yavana domination and included it within his empire; but we do not know whether it formed a part of the dominions of the Later Śuṅgas.

During the first century B.C. Mathurā was ruled by a local dynasty of princes. Coins of Mathurā reveal the names of at least thirteen such rulers. Of them, the name of six end in *mitra*: Brahmamita (Brahmamitra),[33] Daḍhamita (Dṛiḍhamitra),[34] Gomita (Gomitra),[35] Satamita (Satamitra),[36] Sūyamita (Sūryamitra),[37] and Vishṇumita (Vishṇumitra).[38] Of the rest, six rulers have their names ending in *datta*: Bhavadata (Bhavadatta),[39] Kāmadata (Kāmadatta),[40] Purushadata (Purushadatta),[41] Rāmadata (Rāmadatta),[42] Śeshadata (Śeshadatta),[43] and Uttamadata (Uttamadatta).[44] The thirteenth king's name is Balabhūti.[45]

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31 See Ch. I, p 22 above.

32 *Mahābhāshya* (on Pāṇini 1. 2. 48), Vol. I, p. 19.

33 *BMC(AI)*, p. 173, Pl. XXV. 14.

34 Ibid., p. 174, Pl. XLIII. 16.

35 Ibid., p. 170, Pl XXV. 1.

36 *JNSI*, XXVIII, p. 42, Pl. II. 7. The name 'Satamita' can only be Satamitra in Sanskrit, not Satyamitra, as suggested by Bajpai. The Prakrit form of Satyamitra would be 'Sachamita': cf. p. 101 above, where, however, the name of Satamitra was not included as his coin was not known at that time. It is not possible to identify Satamitra of Mathurā with his namesake of Kauśāmbī, for the latter is assigned a date about the end of the first century B.C. (see p. 121 above), while the former probably flourished during the earlier part of that century as we shall see below.

37 *BMC(AI)*, p. 174, Pl. XXV. 17.

38 Ibid., p. 175, Pl. XXV. 16.

39 *IMC*, I, p. 193, No. 1; see also *BMC(AI)*, p. cxi.

40 *BMC(AI)*, p. 182, Pl. XXIV. 18.

41 Ibid., p. 176, Pl. XXIV. 1.

42 Ibid, p. 179, Pl. XXIV. 5.

43 Ibid., p. 174, Pl. XLIII. 18. For the corrected reading of the name see ibid., pp. cx-cxi and for more coins of this ruler see *Ancient India*, Nos. 10-11, p. 13, Pl. LIX. 11 and *JNSI*, XXV, p. 241, No. 3 Pl. I. 3.

44 *BMC(AI)*, p. 177, Pl, XXIV. 15-16.

45 Ibid., p. 178, Pl. XXV. 22-24. According to Allan (ibid., p. cix), the two other coins bearing the name of Balabhūti (ibid., p. 178, Pl. XLIII. 19-20), which are typologically connected with the coin of a Gomitra (ibid., p. 169, Pl. XXV. 3), may belong to another Balabhūti of a different dynasty, since they are not of the regular Mathurā type.

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The coin-types of these local Hindu rulers are singularly uniform. The obverse shows the figure of Lakshmī (sometimes wrongly described as Kṛishṇa),[46] holding a lotus in her uplifted right hand, between several symbols on either side. The reverse usually depicts three elephants with riders. The latter type is crudely represented and degenerates until it is almost irrecognisable.[47] The Hindu rulers appear to have been succeeded by the Śaka Satraps of Mathurā, whose coins form a different series.

Of the Hindu rulers represented by their coins, only three are mentioned in the inscriptions of the time.[48] At Ganeshrā, a village some three miles west of Mathurā, were found twenty-four bricks and brickbats with fragmentary inscriptions, the readings of which may be restored as—*Gomitāmachena Kohaḍena kāritam.*[49] The epigraphs are classed with the Morā brick inscriptions of Yaśamatā and referred to a date about the closing years of the second century B.C.[50] The palaeography of the legend on Gomitra's coins also suggests a similar date; hence the two Gomitras seem to be identical.

A Mathurā inscription mentions king Vishṇumitra who was the son of Dharmamitra and the father of princess Indrāgnibhadrā[51]. This Vishṇumitra may probably be identified with Vishṇumitra of Mathurā coins. For, the inscription is dated by N. G. Majumdar in the first century B.C.[52], which may also be the date of his coins. We do not know if his father was also a king, as the portion of the inscription preceding his father's name is damaged. No coin with similar name has been discovered yet.

A short unpublished inscription on a small fragmentary

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46 Cf. *BMC(AI)*, p. cviii, and n. 3.

47 For its progressive degeneration see ibid., Pl. XLIV. 8-12.

48 Another unnamed king, whose queen was Yaśamatā, is known from the latter's Morā inscription (*ASR* 1911-12, p. 127). Brahmamitra whose queen Nāgadevī dedicated several railing pillars at Bodhgayā (ibid., 1907-08, p. 40) cannot, however, be identified with his namesake of the Mathurā coins as we have seen (Ch. II, Sec. 5, p. 67 above); cf. also Allan, *BMC(AI)*, p. cxiii.

49 *ASR* 1911-12, p. 129.

50 N. G. Majumdar, *MS*, I, p. 271; *ASR* 1911-12, p. 128.

51 *IHQ*, II, pp. 441 ff. and *JBRS*, XXX, pp. 204-05.

52 *IHQ*, II, p. 445.

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50 N. G. Majumdar, *MS*, I, p. 271; *ASR* 1911-12, p. 128.

51 *IHQ*, II, pp. 441 ff. and *JBRS*, XXX, pp. 204-05.

52 *IHQ*, II, p. 445.

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decorated frieze in the collection of Sri H. P. Poddar of Calcutta reveals the name of one *Rājan* Gopālīputra Sūryamitra. The frieze is of red sandstone, characteristic of Mathurā, and was actually recovered from that place along with a number of similar pieces. The inscription is in the early Brāhmī characters of about the latter part of the second century B.C. It reads : *Rāṁño Gopālyāputrasa*[53] *Suyamitrasa pīṭhama dena* [1*] *Kāśīputrena Yaśakena kāritam* [1*] Thus, the inscription records the gift of a *pīṭha* by Gopālīputra Sūryamitra who was evidently a king of Mathurā. This Sūryamitra may very well be identified with his namesake of the Mathurā coins[54], since the characters of the coin-legend appear to be similar to those of the inscription.

Another Mathurā epigraph mentions the name of one Vātsīputra Vādhapāla Dhanabhūti[55], not known from coins. Cunningham recognises in this name Dhanabhūti II, son of Vādhapāla and grandson of Dhanabhūti I of the Bhārhut inscriptions.[56] But Hultzsch points out that the word *putrasa*, which in that case should stand between *Vādhapālasa* and *Dhanabhūtisa*, is wanting.[57] Although we have no sufficient ground to connect Vādhapāla Dhanabhūti with the family of Dhanabhūti of the Bhārhut inscriptions, it is not altogether unlikely that he was the same as prince Vādhapāla, the son of king Dhanabhūti mentioned in another Bhārhut inscription. B.C. Law thinks that "in the absence of any reference to the dominions of any other ruler or dynasty, it may be legitimate to assume that Vādhapāla Dhanabhūti and his predecessors were local rulers of Mathurā and that, prior to the Kushāṇa rule."[58] No coin of any king of this line has, however, been discovered at Mathurā, although we get the coins of Āgaraju or Agarāja (Aṅgāradyut),

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53 The usual form of the metronymic should be 'Gopāliputra' : cf. 'Gopāliputra Bahasatimitra' in the Pabhosā inscription, No. 1, *SI*, p. 97.

54 As to his identification with other known Sūryamitras see p. 102 above.

55 Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bhārhut*, pp. 16, 130, Pl. LIII. 4 ; Lüder's List, No. 125 (*Ep. Ind.*, X, Appendix, p. 22).

56 *The Stūpa of Bhārhut*, p. 16. For the Bhārhut inscriptions of Vādhapāla and Dhanabhūti see ibid., p. 142, Pl. LVI. 54 (Lüder's List, No. 869 : *Ep, Ind.*, X, Appendix, p. 88) and *SI*, p. 89 respectively.

57 *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 138.

58 *JASB* 1947, p. 30.

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the father of Dhanabhūti, at Kauśāmbī. It therefore appears unlikely that the territory of the line of Dhanabhūti, which included some portion of the southern Kauśāmbī area near Bhārhut[59] extended as far as Mathurā. The Mathurā epigraph of Vādhapāla Dhanabhūti, being of dedicatory nature, does not necessarily indicate his rule at Mathurā.[60]

From the differences in the coins bearing the name Gomitra, Allan thinks it probable that there were more than one king of that name.[61] The square coins with four symbols (S 22, S 35, S 16, S 14) and the legend *Rānāya* (?) *Gomitasa* on the obverse, and 'tree within railing' on the reverse are ascribed by him to a different and earlier Gomitra, while the coins of the regular Mathurā type are assigned to a later Gomitra.[62] We agree with Allan that the coins of the former type cannot be attributed to Gomitra of the latter type of coins, as none of the symbols is common to both. Although the name of the king on the former type of coins cannot be definitely read on any of the illustrated specimens, the type and fabric and the square shape of his coins indicate that he was earlier than the rulers who struck the regular Mathurā type coins of round shape, amongst whom, again, Gomitra (II ?) seems to be the earliest, since he alone issued coins of both square and round shapes.[63]

Now, of the four symbols appearing on the coins of Gomitra (II), viz. (1) the conventional tree (S 46), (2) the Ujjain symbol (S 28), (3) the second Pañchāla symbol (S 43), and (4) the river with fishes (S 10), the first one (S 46) is common to the coins of all the Hindu rulers and all the Satraps of Mathurā excepting Rājuvula. This symbol, therefore, appears to have some local significance. The second one (S 28) is found on the coins of the Mitras alone and is replaced by a śa-like symbol (S 44) on those of the Dattas. So it might have been the dynastic emblem

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59 Cf. pp. 59 and 114 above.

60 We do not know if Dhanabhūti of the Mathurā inscription had any connection with Balabhūti of the Mathurā coins.

61 *BMC(AI)*, pp. cviii-ix.

62 Ibid., p. 169, Nos. 1-4 Pl. XXIV. 20-21 (Gomitra I) ; p. 171, Pl. XXV. 5-6 (Gomitra II). According to Allan, again, some other coins bearing the name of Gomitra (Ibid., p. 169, No. 5 and pp. 171-72, Nos. 18-25) may not be the issues of any of these two Gomitras.

63 Ibid., p. 170, Pl. XXV. 1 (Sqr.) ; p. 171, Pl. XXV. 5 (Rd.).

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of the Mitras of Mathurā, as distinguished from the śa-like symbol which was probably the distinctive mark of the Dattas.

Again, out of the four symbols seen on Gomitra's coins, the first three (S 46, S 28, S 43) appear on the coins of Sūryamitra[64] and Brahmamitra[65], while only the first two (S 46, S 28) occur on those of Dṛiḍhamitra[66] and Vishṇumitra.[67] The former two rulers thus seem to be more closely connected by types with Gomitra than the latter two. Of Sūryamitra and Brahmamitra, again, the former may be earlier, for the representation of the reverse type on his coins is more distinct than on those of the latter.

As we have seen, the names Gomitra, Sūryamitra and Brahmamitra are common to both the Mathurā and the Kanauj series of coins. It is also significant that the Ujjain symbol which was possibly the dynastic emblem of the Mitras of Mathurā, also appears on the coins of the Kanauj Mitras and seems to form a connecting link between the two series. It is thus not unlikely that Gomitra, Sūryamitra and Brahmamitra of Mathurā were identical with their Kanauj namesakes. They might have extended their sway from Mathurā towards Kanauj, which are not separated by a very long distance. If so, they appear to have introduced a distinct type in the annexed territory, and the new type was connected by symbols with the coins of both Kanauj and Mathurā.

There is no clue to determine who amongst Dṛiḍhamitra, Vishṇumitra and Satamitra was the earlier; one of them, however, seems to be succeeded by the Dattas.

Of the Dattas, Purushadatta alone, like his predecessors, viz. the Mitras, does not bear any royal title on his coins;[68] and, while Uttamadatta and Rāmadatta have it on some of their coins, the rest invariably add the title *rājan* to their names. It, therefore, appears that Purushadatta was the earliest amongst the Dattas, and was followed by Uttamadatta and Rāmadatta, who were, again, succeeded by the others.

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64 Ibid., p. 174, Pl. XXV. 17. For other Śūryamitras see p. 102 above.

65 Ibid., p. 173, Pl. XXV. 12.

66 Ibid., p. 174, Pl. XLIII. 16.

67 Ibid., p. 175, Pl. XXV. 16. As to whether he can be identified with Vishṇumitra of Pañchāla coins see p. 103 above.

68 Ibid., p. 176, Pl. XXIV. 1.

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According to Allan, there might have been two Uttamadattas and two Rāmadattas, differentiated by the presence or absence of the royal title.[69] But as all the coins of Uttamadatta[70], with or without the regal title, have the same reverse type, viz. 'elephant to right,' instead of the usual 'three elephants with riders', they were probably the issues of one and the same ruler. The coins of Rāmadatta *with* the royal title have, however, some distinguishing features from those *without* it.[71] In the first place, the former have the square incuse, characteristic of the early struck coins of India, whereas the coins with his name alone do not bear that incuse square. The letters on the former coins are smaller and more neatly incised than those on the latter pieces. The obverse of the former coins also bears two additional symbols, viz., a star (S 42) and a bull in miniature (S 8). But, inspite of these differences, there are also some connecting links between the two series. The square incuse also occurs on some coins of Rāmadatta without the royal title,[72] while some other coins with the royal title bear neither the two additional symbols nor the incuse impression.[73] It is thus not unlikely that there was only one ruler bearing the name of Rāmadatta, who issued both the series successively.

It is, however, curious that both Uttamadatta and Rāmadatta issued two series of coins, first *without* the royal title and then *with* it. If one succeeded the other, it is difficult to explain why the latter ruler should not assume the royal title from the very beginning of his reign, already adopted by his predecessor. It would appear, therefore, that Uttamadatta and Rāmadatta ruled contemporaneously in adjoining districts and that both of them adopted the royal title almost at the same time.[74] The introduction of a new reverse type by Uttamadatta

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69 Ibid., p. cx.

70 Cf. ibid., p. 177, Pl. XXIV. 15 (without royal title), and *IMC*, p. 193, Pl. XXII. 11 (with title *rājan*).

71 Cf. *BMC(AI)* p. 179, Pl. XXIV. 5-6 (without royal title) and p. 181, Pl. XXIV, 9-10 (with title *rājan*).

72 Ibid., p. 180, Pl. XXIV. 12.

73 Ibid., Pl. XXIV. 13.

74 Alternatively, we may hold that there were two Rāmadattas but one Uttamadatta, and that Rāmadatta I was succeeded by Uttamadatta (the first king to adopt the royal title) who in his turn was followed by Rāmadatta II (entitled as *rājan* from the beginning).

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may also indicate that he did not belong to the main line and that he was a member of a collateral branch of the Dattas. Of the other Dattas, Bhavadatta[75] alone used the reverse type of Uttamadatta and therefore seems to have belonged to his line.

The coins of Rāmadatta are more abundant than the issues of any other Hindu ruler of Mathurā, and exhibit many varieties. This shows that he was an important ruler and enjoyed a comparatively long reign. Rāmadatta seems to have been succeeded by Kāmadatta, whose coin[76] also bears the two additional symbols (S 42, S 8), found on the later die-struck issues of Rāmadatta. Śeshadatta[77] thus comes after Rāmadata.

Balabhūti[78] appears to be the latest of the Hindu kings of Mathurā, as suggested by his different name-ending as well as by the absence, on his coins, of the śa-like symbol characteristic of the Dattas. Since he bears, on his coins, the tilte *rājan*, he could not have preceded the Datta group of rulers, the earliest of whom is not known to have adopted it.

Some other coins with the curious legend, *Mahārājasa Apalatasa* ('of *Mahārāja* Aparānta'?) are attributed by Allan to a king of Mathurā as they are characteristically of the regular Mathurā type.[79] They come from U. P. and Rajasthan and hence cannot be associated with the country of Aparānta (i.e. Northern Koṅkan). The title *Mahārāja* is, however, unusual for the known Mathurā rulers, although the star-symbol (S 55) on the coins of Aparānta seems to connect him with Rāmadatta and Kāmadatta, whose coins also bear that symbol.

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75 *IMC*, p. 193; *JRAS* 1900, p. 113, Pl. Fig. 13.

76 *BMC(AI)*, p. 182, Pl. XXIV. 18.

77 Ibid., pp. cxi and 174, Pl. XLIII. 18.

78 Ibid., p. 178, Nos. 55-57, Pl. XXV. 22-24. According to Allan (ibid., p. cix), the two other coins bearing the name of Balabhūti (Nos. 58-59 Pl. XLIII. 19-20), which are typologically connected with the coin of a Gomitra (ibid., p. 169, No. 5 Pl XXV. 3), may belong to another Balabhūti of a different dynasty, since they are not of the regular Mathurā type.

79 Ibid., pp. lxxxi-ii, cx and 182, Pl. XXIX. 24.

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The Hindu rulers of Mathurā may, thus, be arranged in the following order :

Main Line	*Collateral Line* (?)
1. Gomitra	
2. Sūryamitra	
3. Brahmamitra	
4. Dṛiḍhamitra	
5. Vishṇumitra	
6. Purushadatta	
7. Rājā Rāmadatta	8. Rājā Uttamadatta
9. Rājā Kāmadatta	10. Rājā Bhavadatta
11. Rājā Śeshadatta	
12. Rājā Balabhūti	
13. Mahārāja Aparānta (?)	

The chronology of the Hindu rulers as well as the Śaka Satraps of Mathurā is beset with some difficulties. Allan is of opinion that the coins issued by the Hindu princes covered the period from the end of the third to the middle of the first century B.C.[80] But D. C. Sircar does not think that they are so early, and assigns them to the first century B.C.[81] This is also supported to some extent by epigraphical evidence; for, the date of the Ganeshrā brick inscriptions of Gomitra is not earlier than the closing years of the secend century B.C., and Gomitra was undoubtedly the earliest of the Hindu rulers of Mathurā, as the square shape of some of his coins and the clearer representation of the reverse type of 'three elephants' would show. The Mitras of Mathurā, therefore, seem to have come to power about the latter half of the second century B.C., after the termination of Pushyamitra Śuṅga's rule.

The view, however, that the rule of the Mitras covered the first century B.C. and preceded the Śakas, while the Dattas 'may have been the vassals of the Kushāṇas and flourished about the second century A.D., after the extirpation of the Śakas at Matharā'[82], is not supported by the study of their coins. For, the coins of the Hindu rulers—both the Mitras and

80 Ibid., p. cx.
81 *AIU*, p. 171.
82 Ibid.

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the Dattas—form a homogenous series, leaving no room for the different series of Satrapal coins to come in between. The Dattas seem to have ruled immediately after the Mitras and not after the Śaka Satraps.[83]

The Śaka Satraps are generally assumed to be the successors of the Hindu rulers of Mathurā. Of them, again, Hagāna, Hagāmāsha, Śivaghosha and Śivadatta are supposed to be earlier than Rājuvula and Śoḍāsa.[84] And taking the year of the Āmohini votive tablet inscription of Śoḍāsa as 42 of the era of 58 B.C., Śoḍāsa's rule as *Mahākshatrapa* is placed about 17-16 B.C.[85] Accordingly, the date of the Śaka occupation of Mathurā is assigned to the middle of the first century B.C.

On the basis of this calculation, Powell-Price holds that there is hardly any room for an Indian dynasty of local kings at Mathurā at this time. According to him, Menander and his successors included Mathurā in their dominions at least upto 100 B.C.; Rājūla is taken to rule at Mathurā about 60 B.C., before whom some allowance of time is given for the rule of the Śaka Satraps Hagāna and Hagāmāsha. He takes the Hindu princes, viz. Gomitra and Brahmamitra as lords of Pañchāla, not as local kings of Mathurā. Consequently, he concludes that "on the withdrawal of the Greeks from Mathurā—about 100 B.C. —and the arrival of the Śakas, there was time for the extension of Pañchāla power there—but not for the rise of a local dynasty permanent enough to establish a mint of their own and issue coins."[86]

But this view is not acceptable, as the local coins of Mathurā are entirely different from those of Pañchāla and form a characteristic series of their own. And, curiously enough, the names of Gomitra and Brahmamitra whom Powell-Price takes as Pañchāla rulers, do not occur in the Pañchāla series of

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83 It is significant that in the excavations of Hastināpur, Rupār and Purān Qila, Mathurā coins come from a level lower than that yielding Kushāṇa coins : see *NNM 8* (*NSI*), pp. 7-8 and 33. This probably also shows that the Mathurā rulers preceded the Kushāṇas ; for, had they been the vassals of the latter, we would find their coins associated with Kushāṇa coins and in the same level.

84 Cf. Allan, *BMC*(*AI*), p. cxvl.

85 Ibid., p. cxvi and Rapson, *CHI*, pp. 575-76.

86 *JUPHS*, XVI, pp. 223-24.

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coins at all. The names of two other princes, viz. Sūryamitra and Vishṇumitra are, however, common to both the series. But, from a comparative study of their coins, both Sūryamitra and Vishṇumitra of Pañchāla[87] appear to be somewhat later than their Mathurā namesakes. Moreover, Powell-Price overlooks the existence of as many as six Dattas and one Balabhūti, who ruled after the Mitras.

Then, besides a few coins of Menander and Apollodotus, procured by Tod at Mathurā[88], and '96 base hemidrachms of Straton', as said by Cunningham to have been discovered there along with 87 coins of Rājuvula[89], there is hardly any other evidence to show that the Indo-Geeeks, specially Menander and his successors, extended their territories as far as Mathurā, after the rule of Pushyamitra Śuṅga who seems to have included Mathurā in his dominions.

Lastly, the year of the Āmohini votive tablet inscription of Śoḍāsa's time is not 42, but 72[90], so that Śaḍāsa's rule is brought down thirty years later, that is in 15 A.D. And as pointed out by J. N. Banerjea, the rule of Hagāna and Hagāmāsha is to be placed later than that of Rājuvula and Śoḍāsa, and not before it.[91] This is evident from a study of their coins, as we shall see below. We shall also see that neither Śoḍāsa's nor his father's rule as *Mahākshatrapa* at Mathurā was of long duration. And since Śoḍāsa is known to be a *Mahākshatrapa* in 15 A.D., the date of the Śaka occupation of Mathurā could not have been much earlier than the beginning years of the first century A.D.

Thus, from the termination of the rule of Pushyamitra

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87 *BMC(AI)*, p. 193, Pl. XXVII. 8 (Sūryamitra) and p. 202, Pl. XXIX. 8 (Vishṇumitra). Cf. pp. 102 and 103 above.

88 *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1824, p 313.

89 *BMC(AI)*, p. cxv ; and *CAI*, p. 86. The Strato who issued these coins is now considered to be a late ruler of the Sialkot area, distinct from his second century B.C. namesake who ruled in the region west of the Indus : see A. N. Lahiri, *IHQ*, XXXV, pp. 166 ff., and *CIGC*, pp. 181-84 and 267 ; A. Simonetta, *East and West*, VIII, p. 66, n. 14, and G. K Jenkins, *JNSI* XXI, p. 32. Apparently, the coins of Stato II were the prototypes of Rājuvula's Greek type coins, hence they are found together (also in the Punjab) ; Strato II's coins do not, therefore, indicate his rule in Mathurā.

90 Cf. *SI*, p. 118 and n. 3.

91 See *PIHC* 1948 (Delhi), ; cf. also D. C. Sircar, *AIU*, pp. 134-35.

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(middle of the second century B.C.) to the Śaka occupation of Mathurā (about the beginning of the first century A.D.) there is more than a century for about a dozen Hindu princes to rule at Mathurā. This period need not be considered insufficient in view of the political situation of the time, as well as the probability of more than one king ruling contemporaneously in contiguous areas. In Kauśāmbī also, a large number of rulers flourished in a comparatively short period of time. Even the reigns of the ten Suṅgas who were the most important kings of the time, did not cover more than 112 years.

As already noted, the Hindu kings of Mathurā were supplanted by the Śakas towards the beginning of the first century A.D. The Śaka Satraps belonged to two distinct groups, as distinguished by the reverse types of their coins—Rājuvula and Śoḍāsa forming one group, and Hagāna, Hagāmāsha, Śivadatta and Śivaghosha forming the other.

Rājuvula whose name is sometimes written as Rājūla on coins and inscriptions[92], is known from the Mathurā Lion Capital inscription of his chief queen[93] as well as from the Morā well inscription of his son whose name is lost.[94] His coin-types are imitated from those of the later Indo-Greek prince Strato II as well as the Śaka king Maues on the one hand, and from those of the local kings of Mathurā on the other. They fall into three classes, according to their prototypes. Coins of Classes I and II[95], which are copied from those of

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92 It is 'Rājuvula' in his coins of Class I ('Rajuvula' in Kharoshṭhī) and Class III (Class II of *BMC, AI*) as well as in the coins of his son Śoḍāsa (giving the patronymic), and in the Morā inscription of his unnamed son. It is 'Rājula' ('Rajula' in Kharoshṭhī) in his coins of Class II (Class III of *BMC,AI*) and in the Mathurā Lion Capital inscription. Due to the sporadic occurrence of a hook (denoting *anusvāra*) below the Kharoshṭhī letter *ra*, his name is also taken as Raṁjuvula (i.e. Rañjuvula); but as the hook is not regular in its occurrence, Allan doubts about the nasal in the first syllable and takes the name as Rājuvula only: cf. *BMC(AI)*, pp. cxiii-iv.

93 *SI*, pp. 112 ff.

94 *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, pp. 194 ff.

95 These are drachms of lighter weight and of very base metal: *BMC(AI)*, pp. cxv and 185, Pl. XXVI. 7; cf. also the prototype, *PMC*, p. 50, Pl. V. 361 (Strato II). Coins of similer types but in copper are also known: *BMC(AI)*, p. 186, Nos. 110-12.

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Strato II bear, like their Indo-Greek prototypes, Greek legend on the obverse and Prakrit legend written in Kharoshṭhī on the reverse, *Apratihatachakrasa chhatrapasa Rajuvulasa*. The obverse bears the well-executed bust of Rājuvula with typical Śaka features, while the reverse shows the figure of the thundering Athena, as represented on Indo-Greek coins. These are his commonest issues which are found over a wide area, comprising the eastern Punjab and the western parts of Uttar Pradesh.[96] His coins of Class II[97], which show Heracles on the obverse and a lion on the reverse, are barbarous imitations of the fine pieces of similar types of his Śaka predecessor Maues. They are bilingual like those of Class I and have a shorter Kharoshṭhī legend, *Mahakhatapasa apratichakrasa Rajulasa*. These coins also come form the Punjab and some were found at Sirkap in Taxila.[98] His coins of Class III[99], which are the rarest of his issues, are copied from the local types and bear the Bhāhmī legend, *Mahākhatapasa Rājuvulasa*. Like their Hindu prototypes, they depict on the obverse Lakshmī standing with lotus in uplifted right hand, although the symbols on either side are changed (S 20, S 18). The local reverse type, viz. 'three elephants with riders' is also substituted by 'Abhisheka of Lakshmī' (another characteristic Hindu motif).[100]

All these show that Rājuvula ruled at first as a *Kshatrapa* in parts of the eastern Punjab and western Uttar Pradesh, sometime after Strato II, and then installed himself as a *Mahākshatrapa*, probably in some parts of the dominions of Maues. Both as *Kshatrapa* and as *Mahākshatrapa*, he calls himself *apratihatachakra* (one whose *chakra* is irressistible) and there is no mention of an overlord in the records of his time. He, therefore, appears to have ruled semi-independently, owing only a nominal

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96 *BMC(AI)*, p. cxv.

97 Ibid., p. 187, Pl. XLIII. 21 (these are lead coins of Class III of *BMC,AI*); cf. also the prototype, *BMC (Greek and Scythic Kings)*, Pl. XVI. 5 (Maues).

98 *BMC(AI)*, p. cxv.

99 Ibid., p. 187, Pl. XXVI. 12-13 (lead coins of Class II of *BMC,AI*).

100 Cf. the uninscribed cast coins of Kauśāmbi, *BMC(AI)*, p. 149, Pl. XX. 15, and the coins of some early rulers of Ayodhyā, ibid., p. 131, Pl. XVI. 14 (Viśākhadeva). It is therefore not likely, as suggested by Allan (ibid., p. cxv), that this type was adopted by Rājuvula from the rare coins of Azilises bearing this device (*PMC*, Pl. XIII. 332).

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suzerainty to the then Śaka emperor.[101] The scarcity of his Mathurā-type coins, in which he is styled as *Mahākshatrapa*, suggests that he occupied Mathurā only late in his life[102] and that for a short while. As he imitated the later Indo-Greek coins besides those of Mathurā, he appears to be the first Śaka chief in whose time Mathurā came under the Śaka rule.

It is known from coins and inscriptions that Śoḍāsa was the son of Rājuvula. Śoḍāsa's coins, which are only of the local Hindu type and similar to his father's Mathurā issues, exhibit three different legends in Brāhmī :

1. *Mahākhatapasa putasa Khatapasa Śoḍāsasa*,[103]
2. *Rājuvulaputasa Khatapasa Śoḍāsasa*,[104]
3. *Mahākhatapasa Śoḍāsasa*.[105]

These legends perhaps indicate that Śoḍāsa at first ruled as a *Kshatrapa* when his father was a *Mahākshatrapa*, and then after the latter's death, succeeded him as the *Mahākshatrapa*. The Mathurā Lion Capital inscription represents him as a *Kshatrapa* and his father as a *Mahākshatrapa*, and gives his name (in Kharoshṭhī) as Śuḍisa. In the Āmohini votive tablet inscription,[106] he is styled as *Mahakshatrapa*, and given the additional epithet of *svāmin*, also found in two other Mathurā epigraphs of his time.[107] The title *svāmin*, common with the Western Satraps,[108] is also borne by the unnamed son of Rājuvula, as known from the Mathurā well inscription, though it is not found associated with the name of Rājuvula, nor is it seen on the coins of Śoḍāsa. The scarcity of Śoḍāsa's coins with the title *Mahākshatrapa*, like those of his father bearing the same title, suggests that he too ruled for a short time as *Mahākshatrapa*.[109]

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101 If Rājuvula ruled towards the close of the first century B.C. and the beginning of the first century A.D., his overlord seems, in all probability, to be a Śaka emperor —either Azilises or Azes II.

102 Cf. *BMC(AI)*, p. cxv.

103 Ibid,, p. 190, Pl. XXVI. 16.

104 Ibid., p. 191, Pl. XXVI. 18.

105 Ibid., p. 191, Pl. XLIII. 15.

106 *SI*, p. 118.

107 Cf. the Mathurā Jail mound inscription, *SI*, p. 119 and the Mathurā door-jamb inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, pp. 208-09 (No. VII).

108 Cf. *IMC*, p. 125, No. 16 ; and *SI*, pp. 166 and 170.

109 *BMC(AI)*, p. cxvi.

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The facts that Śoḍāsa copied only the Mathurā-type coins of his father and that his coins are absent in the Punjab finds also indicate that his dominions were confined in the Mathurā area alone.[110]

A coin of the same type as that of Śoḍasa reveals the name of Kshatrapa Toraṇaḍāsa or Bharaṇaḍāsa[111], also the son of a *Mahākshatrapa*. He might have been the unnamed son of Rājuvula or a son of Śoḍāsa. Another *Kshatrapa*, Ghaṭāka by name, is known from a fragmentary inscription from Ganeshrā[112] near Mathurā. He belonged to the well-known Kshaharāta family, to which Nahapāna belonged. Ghaṭāka's relation with the other Satraps of the locality is not known.

The coins of Hagāna,[113] Hagāmāsha,[114] Śivadatta,[115] and Śivaghosha[116] are distinguished by the reverse type which depicts the figure of a horse instead of 'Abhisheka of Lakshmī', and also by the obverse symbol (S 41) on which Lakshmī stands. The names of the two rulers of the Hagāna-Hagāmāsha group, viz. Śivaghosha and Śivadatta, suggest that they flourished at a time when the process of Hinduisation of the Śakas was complete, and that they were probably the latest of the Satraps;[117] hence this group of Satraps could not have preceded the Rājuvula-Śoḍāsa group. Again, the so-called 'conventional tree' (S 46), which is the most characteristic of the Mathurā symbols, and which occurs on the coins of Śoḍāsa as well as on those of Hagāna, Hagāmāsha, Śivaghosha and Śivadatta, seems to form a connecting link between the two groups of Satraps, if Rājuvula and Śoḍāsa are taken to be

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110 Ibid., pp. cxv-vi.

111 Ibid., p. cxii.

112 *ASR* 1911-12, p. 128.

113 *BMC(AI)*, p. 184, Pl. XXVI. 6. Hagāna's coins are so far known to have been issued jointly with his brother Hagāmāsha. For a variety of this joint issue see *JNSI*, XXV, pp. 102-3, Pl. II. 4.

114 *BMC(AI)*, p. 183, Pl. XXVI. 1.

115 Ibid., p. 183, Pl. XXV. 26.

116 Ibid., p. cxii; *IMC*, p. 194, No. 1.

117 We may compare in this connection the Hinduised name of the Kushāṇa king Vāsudeva as against those of his predecessors Kaṇishka, Huvishka and Vāsishka.

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earlier; but this link is broken, if Rājuvula who alone did not use that symbol is placed later than the Satraps of the other group.

Śaka rule at Mathurā seems to have been terminated by the Kushāṇas, presumably by Kaṇishka, as a large number of coins and inscriptions of the Kushāṇa monarchs, starting from Kaṇishka, are found there.[118] The archaeological remains of the Kushāṇa period at Mathurā suggest that it was a very important centre, nay, probably the eastern capital of the Kushāṇa empire and ruled by the Kushāṇa emperors themselves. It is not known when Mathurā slipped out of Kushāṇa control, but it was included in the Kushāṇa empire down to at least the reign of Vāsudeva, but probably not after 200 A.D., when it seems to have passed to the Nāgas.[119]

Epigraphical and mouumental evidences show that Mathurā was a great centre of the Nāga cult during the Kushāṇa and post-Kushāṇa periods.[120] From the Purāṇas also, we know that seven Nāga princes ruled at Mathurā.[121]

Some post-Kushāṇa coins with the names of Śiśuchaṁdāta and Vīrasena are attributed to Mathurā, probably from the consideration of provenance. Śiśuchaṁdāta (Śiśuchandradatta ?) is known from a unique rectangular coin bearing the legend *Rājño Śiśuchaṁdātasa* in incuse on the obverse, and 'elephant to right' on the reverse.[122] The only affinity that the coin bears with the known coins of the early rulers of Mathurā is the type 'elephant' which was previously used by Uttamadatta and Bhavadatta. But since "in its general character—fabric, shape, size, and epigraphy—it seems to be not far removed from the coins of Vīrasena",[123] Śiśuchandradatta seems to be connected more with Vīrasena in time, than with the earlier Dattas of Mathurā. And, as Vīrasena's coins are chiefly found

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118 Cf. *PHAI*[6], p. 473 and *AIU*, pp. 135 and 141.

119 Cf. *NHIP*, VI, p. 14 and *AIU*, p. 151. Vāsudeva is the last Kushāṇa king whose inscription is found at Mathurā (see *SI*, p. 156).

120 Cf. J.Ph. Vogel, *ASR* 1908-09, pp. 159. ff.; B. N. Puri, *Jour. Ind. Hist.*, XX (1941), pp. 137 f. and B. C. Law, *QJMS*, XXXII, p. 5.

121 *DKA*, p. 53 (Text) and p. 73 (Trans,).

122 *BMC(AI)*, p. 280, Pl. XLV. 13.

123 *JRAS* 1900, p. 115.

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at Mathurā, Śiśuchandradatta's coin is also assigned to that place.[124] We do not know if Śiśuchandradatta belonged to the Nāga family of Mathurā. His name, however, does not suggest anything, nor has his coin any similarity with the known Nāga coins.

Three types of coins bearing the name of Vīrasena are known, and it has been doubted if they can be attributed to one and the same ruler. The square coins of Type 1 with the legend *Virasena* in shallow incuse on the obverse and probably a 'bull' on the reverse, have no similarity with the Mathurā coins and are supposed by Smith to belong to an earlier Vīrasena.[125] The coins of Type 2 which are connected with those of Type 1 by their square shape alone, bear the legend *Virasena* and 'tree-in-railing' between two *nandipadas* on the obverse and a rude standing figure of Lakshmī holding in right hand, stalk of flower growing beside her, on the reverse.[126] The reverse design has some affinity with the local obverse type of Mathurā, although there is no similarity in style. While these coins are very common at Mathurā, they are also found at Kanauj and over an area to the south and east of Mathurā.[127] The issuer of these coins is identified with Svāmi Vīrasena of Jankhat (Farrukhabad District) inscription which is dated in his 13th regnal year.[128] Smith makes this Vīrasena a ruler of the Central Doab, between the Ganges and the Jumna.[129] Coins of Type 3 bearing the circular legend, *Mahārāja-Srī-Virasena* on the obverse, has two varieties, according to the shape and the reverse design—the round coins of Variety A depicting a couchant bull to left in a dotted circle[130], and the square coins of Variety B showing a trident-axe.[131] These were found along with the Nāga coins at Padmāvatī and

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124 Cunningham, *CAI*, p. 89; Rapson, *JRAS* 1900, pp. 114-16; and Smith, *IMC*, p. 191.

125 *IMC*, pp. 191-92 and 197, Pl. XXII. 14.

126 *BMC(AI)*, p. 281, Pl. XLV. 16.

127 Ibid, p. clv.

128 Smith, *IMC*, p. 192 and Allan, *BMC(AI)*, p. clv. For the inscription see *JRAS* 1900, pp. 552 ff. and *Ep Ind.*, XI, pp. 85 ff.

129 *IMC*, p. 191.

130 *JNSI*, XVII, pt. ii, p. 49, Pl. VII. 8.

131 Ibid., Pl. VII. 9.

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their types, fabric and size show close affinities with the Nāga coins.[132] There can be no doubt that the issuer of these coins belonged to the Nāga family. Besides the square shape of Variety B, coins of Type 3 have no connecting link with the coins of the other two types; and we are not sure if Type 1 or 2 or both of them can be assigned to the issuer of the coins of Type 3. If the coins of all the three types were the issues of one and the same king, we have to hold that Vīrasena belonged to the Nāga family of Mathurā, referred to in the Purāṇas, and that he ruled over a wide area including Mathurā, Kanauj and Padmāvatī.

Jayaswal holds that Vīrasena was the second ruler of the Nāga dynasty of Kāntipurī (identified by him with Kantit between Mirzapur and Vindhyāchal) founded by king Nava (identified with Nava of the Kauśāmbī coins), that he reconquered Padmāvatī and Mathurā from the Kushāṇas and established two branch-lines at those places, while the main line (i.e. the Bhāraśivas), continued to rule at Kāntipurī.[133] But even if Vīrasena of the Mathurā coins can be identified with the homonymous king of the Padmāvatī coins, there is no evidence to show that he ruled at Kāntipurī. Moreover, from the epigraphy of his coin-legends and his Jankhat inscription, he is assigned a date, "later than the second century, very possibly to the latter part of the third century A.D."[134] Thus, Vīrasena who probably flourished a little earlier than the rise of the Guptas, does not seem to be the founder of any of the Nāga houses of Padmāvatī or Mathurā; for, as stated in the Purāṇas, there were at least seven generations of Nāga princes at Mathurā, before Samudragupta.[135]

It is, however, curious that no other ruler of the (Nāga ?) dynasty of Virasena at Mathurā is known from coins or inscriptions. We do not know if the rulers of the Sena-ending names, whose coins have recently been found at Padmāvatī,[136] were in

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132 Ibid., p. 50.

133 *HI*, pp. 18-23 and 35.

134 Pargiter, *Ep, Ind.*, XI, p. 86.

135 Since the Purāṇas describe the dominions of the Guptas as comprising only Prayāga, Sāketa and Magadha (*DKA*, p. 53), they seem to depict the condition before the conquests of Samudragupta.

136 E g., Sabalasena, Amitasena and others: *JNSI*, XVII, pp. 53 ff.

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any way connected with Vīrasena. Their coins, however, show no affinity with any of the coins of Vīrasena. Some coins of the Padmāvatī Nāgas are also found at Mathurā. Thus, Gaṇapatināga's coins are said be more common at Mathurā than at Padmāvatī.[137] And it is not improbable that Gaṇapati was ruling at Mathurā, while Nāgasena was ruling at Padmāvatī (as known from the *Harshacharita*),[138] during the time of Samudragupta who claims to have extirpated both the rulers in his Allahabad pillar inscription.

137 *NHIP*, VI, p. 37.

138 Cf. Ibid., p. 39 and n. 1; for *Harshacharita* see trans. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 192.

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Chapter VII

Pañchāla, Almorā and Jagatgrām

I. Pañchāla

The Pañchālas are a very ancient people and are generally associated with the Kurus in the *Mahābhārata*. Their country is said to have come to be known as Pañchāla, as it was the home of five Vedic tribes who merged into one nationality with the Kṛivis as the original predominant element in their unity.[1] Pañchāla roughly corresponds to the Bareilly, Budaun, Farrukhabad and the adjoining districts of Rohilkhand and the Central Doab in Uttar Pradesh.[2] The *Mahābhārata*, the Jātakas and the *Divyāvadāna* refer to the division of Pañchāla into two parts—northern and southern, of which Ahichchhatrā and Kāmpilya were respectively the capitals.[3] Ahichchhatrā, Adhichchhatrā or Chhatrāvatī is identified with modern Rāmnagar near Aonlā in the Bareilly District and Kāmpilya with Kāmpil on the Ganges between Budaun and Farrukhabad.[4] Ahichchhatrā, meaning 'serpent umbrella,' derives its name from the local legend of its founder Ādirāja, over whose head a *Nāga* is said to have formed a canopy, when he was asleep.[5] The earliest inscription referring to the place calls it Adhichchhatrā.[6] The ruins of Ahichchhatrā are found about seven miles to the north of Aonlā and about half a mile to the north-east of the village of Rāmnagar which is even now known to the Jains as Ahichhatrā. Recent excavations at the site have brought to light a brick fortification and a continuity of culture dating from a period earlier than 600 B.C. down to 1100 A.D.[7]

Pañchāla was one of the Sixteen *Mahājanapadas* during the time of the Buddha. Later on it was amalgamated into the Maurya empire. The *Yugapurāṇa* alludes to the Yavana

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1 *PHAI*,[6] p.71 and *MASI*, No.67, p.1.
2 *PHAI*,[6] p.70.
3 Ibid., pp. 134-35.
4 Ibid., pp. 135 (Ahichchhatrā) and 71 (Kāmpilya).
5 *AGI*, pp.412-13.
6 Cf. Pabhosā cave inscription, No. 2 : *SI*, p.98.
7 *Ancient India*, No. 1, pp. 37-38.

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invasion of Pañchāla along with Sāketa and Mathurā.[8] It is not known for certain if it formed part of the dominions of Pushyamitra Śuṅga. Numismatic evidence, however, reveals the existence of an independent dynasty in Northern Pañchāla during the time of the Later Śuṅgas and the post-Śuṅga period covering about four centuries. The fact that the names of most of the Pañchāla rulers end in *mitra,* as in the case of some of the Śuṅga kings has led some scholars to hold that the Pañchāla Mitras were identical with the Śuṅgas. But the difficulties in identifying the Pañchāla Mitras with the Śuṅgas have been discussed above.[9] That Pañchāla—or, to be precise, Northern Pañchāla—attained prominence under the so-called Mitras is also evident from the fact that their coins are associated with the first brick-built structures in the Ahichchhatrā excavations.[10]

Cunningham termed these rulers 'kings of Northern Pañchāla', as he found their coins chiefly at Ahichchhatrā and the adjoining areas.[11] Smith, however, found these common in Eastern Oudh and in the Basti District, and, accordingly, preferred to call their issuers 'lords of Pañchāla and Kośala'[12]. But though the territories of some of the Pāñchāla rulers might have included parts of Kośala, it could not have been permanently included within the kingdom of Pañchāla, as we know that Ayodhyā was also ruled by a local dynasty of princes during this period.

The coins attributed to Pāñchāla 'forms one of the longest and most uniform series of ancient Indian coins.'[13] They are characterised by the presence, on the obverse, of three constant symbols (S 37, S 43, S 36) with the king's name below—all within a square incuse. The reverses of the Pañchāla coins are more remarkable and 'are of special interest to the student of Hindu iconography, as we have nothing similar elsewhere of so early a date.'[14] The reverse very often depicts

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8 See Ch. I, p. 22 above.

9 See Ch. IV above for the detailed discussion of the question.

10 *Ancient India*, No. 1, p.38.

11 *CAI*, p.79.

12 *IMC*, pp,184-85.

13 *BMC (AI)*, p.cxvi.

14 Ibid., p.cxvii.

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a deity—or sometimes his attribute—whose name forms as a rule a component of the issuer's name.

The rulers so far represented on the Pañchāla series of coins are: Agimitra (Agnimitra)[15] Anamitra,[16] Bhadraghosha,[17] Bhānumitra,[18] Bhūmimitra,[19] Bahasatimitra (Bṛihaspatimitra),[20] Damagata (Dāmagupta),[21] Dhruvamitra,[22] Indramitra (Indramitra),[23] Jayagupta,[24] Jayamitra,[25] Phagunimitra (Phālgunīmitra),[26] Prajāpatimitra,[27] Rudaghosha (Rudraghosha),[28] Rudragupta,[29] Śivanandiśrī,[30] Suyamitra (Sūryamitra),[31] Śrī-Nandi,[32] Vagapala, (Vaṅgapāla),[33] Varuṇamitra,[34] Vasusena,[35] Vishṇumitra,[36] Viśvapāla(?),[37] Yajñapāla,[38] and Yugasena.[39]

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15 Ibid, pp. 200-201, Nos. 59-80, No. 60 Pl. XXVIII.8. Eight coins of Agnimitra were found at Sahet Mahet, *JNSI*, XIII, p.140.

16 *JNSI*, XXVIII, p 43, Pl. II.8. A recently discovered coin has been attributed to a new ruler named Aśvamitra (ibid., XXIV, p.12, Pl. 1.6), but the plate is too indistinct to decipher anything from it.

17 *BMC* (*AI*), p.197, Nos. 42-45, No. 42 Pl. XXVIII. 1.

18 Ibid., pp 195-97, Nos. 27-41, No. 28 Pl XXVII.16. A small coin (*JASB*, 1880, p.26, Pl. III.8.) attributed to one Anumitra appears to belong to Bhānumitra, since the reverse device is exactly the same as that on Bhānumitra's smaller coins.

19 *BMC* (*AI*), p. 198, Nos. 46.52, No. 46 Pl. XXVIII. 4.

20 Cf. *IMC*, p. 185. Bṛihaspatimitra's name is mentioned, but his coin-type is not described.

21 *JNSI*, XV, p. 43, Pl. II. 7 and ibid., XXIV, p. 14, note 2.

22 *BMC* (*AI*), p. 199, Nos. 53-58, No. 53 Pl. XXVII. 5.

23 Ibid., p. 203, No. 95 Pl. XXIX. 2.

24 Ibid., p. 202, Nos. 87-88, No. 88 Pl. XXVII. 3.

25 Ibid., p. 203, Nos. 89-94, No. 90 Pl. XXVIII. 17 ; *JNSI*, III, p. 81 (a new variety in the Lucknow Museum).

26 *BMC* (*AI*), pp. 194-95, Nos. 14-26, No. 14 Pl. XXVII. 11.

27 *JNSI*, III, p. 80, Pl. Figs. 1-2.

28 Ibid., XXIV, p. 9, Pl. I. 1.

29 *BMC* (*AI*), p. 192, Nos. 2-6, No. 2 Pl. XXVII. 1

30 *JNSI*, XV, pp. 42-43, Pl. II. 3-4 (3 coins).

31 *BMC* (*AI*), p. 193, Nos. 7-13, No. 9 Pl. XXVII. 8.

32 *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 22, Pl. II. 4.

33 Ibid., IV, p. 19, Pl. I. 20 ; and ibid., XXIV, p. 10, Pl. I. 2-4a.

34 Ibid.. V, p. 17, Pl. II. B (3 coins) ; ibid., XXV, p. 243, Pl. I. 7-7a.

35 Ibid., II, p. 115, Pl. XA. 6.

36 *BMC* (*AI*), p. 202, Nos. 81-86, No. 81 Pl. XXIX. 6. The legend on the coin (*JNSI*, III, p. 81) read as Viśvāmitra is probably Vishṇumitra,

37 *BMC* (*AI*), p. 192, No. 1 Pl. XXVII. 4. This coin is attributed to Vaṅgapāla by Bajpai (*JNSI*, XXIV, p. 12, note 2), but the legend seems to be neither Viśvapāla nor Vaṅgapāla, but something else.

38 *JNSI*, IV, p. 17, Pl. I. 18.

39 *BMC* (*AI*), p. 279, Nos. 5-7, No. 5 Pl.XLV. 12 (read as Pu[ṅga]sena); *JNSI*, V, p. 19, Pl. II. C, and ibid., XXIV, p. 11, Pl. I. 5.

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They can be arranged into six different groups according to their name-endings ;—[40]

The Ghosha-ending names : Bhadraghosha and Rudraghosha.

The Gupta-ending names : Dāmagupta, Rudragupta and Jayagupta.

The Mitra-ending names : Agnimitra, Anamitra, Bhānumitra, Bhūmimitra, Bṛihaspatimitra, Dhruvamitra, Indramitra, Jayamitra, Phālgunīmitra, Prajāpatimitra, Sūryamitra, Varuṇamitra and Vishṇumitra.

The Nandi-ending names :[41] Śivanandi-Śri and Śri-Nandi.

The Pāla-ending names : Vaṅgapāla, Viśvapāla (?) and Yajñapāla,

The Sena-ending names : Vasusena and Yugasena.

This arrangement, however, does not necessarily indicate that the rulers belonged to different dynasties and succeeded one another in chronological order according to their respective name-endings. For, a study of their coins would show that kings having different name-endings were interconnected by types and symbols and the coins of all of them excepting probably those of Śivanandi-Śri and Śri-Nandi appear to have belonged to the same series. Even if some rulers having same name-endings followed one another, it was only coincidential.

Out of these 26 rulers known from coins, only three[42] (?) are mentioned in contemporary inscriptions. The Pabhosā cave inscription (No. 2) reveals the existence of a line of rulers at Ahichchhatrā, represented by king *Saunakāyanīputra* Vaṅgapāla, his son king *Traivarṇiputra* Bhāgavata, and his son *Gopālikā-Vaihidariputra* Āshāḍhasena, the last-named prince being the donor of the caves.[43] Of these rulers, Vaṅgapāla is probably to be identified with Vaṅgapāla of our coins.[44] But no coin

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40 Cf. *JNSI*, XXIV, pp. 12-13 ; the alphabetical arrangement is ours. We have not, however, followed Bajpai's chronological order.

41 One Īśvaranandi is known from a seal (*JNSI*, XXVIII, p. 205), but we do not know if he was a king since there is no royal title before his name.

42 Indramitra, Varuṇamitra and Vishṇumitra cannot probably be identified with Indrāgnimitra of the Bodhgayā inscription of his queen (*ASR*, 1908-9, p. 147), Varuṇamitra of a Kausāmbi inscription (*Ind. Cult.*, I, pp 694 ff.) and Vishṇumitra of a Mathurā epigraph (*IHQ*, II, pp. 441 ff.) respectively.

43 *SI*, p. 98.

44 The reading of the ivory seal from Kauśāmbi, attributed to Vaṅgapāla (*JNSI*,

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is known of Bhāgavata or Āshāḍhasena. Another Pabhosā cave inscription (No. 1) informs us that Āshāḍhasena was the maternal uncle of king *Gopālīputra* Bṛihaspatimitra who is identified with Bṛihaspatimitra (II) of the Kauśāmbī coins.[45] Again, in view of the relationship existing between the royal houses of Kauśāmbi and Pañcāla, as known from the Pabhosā inscription (No. 1), it is possible that Bṛihaspatimitra (II) of the Kauśāmbī coins was also identical with his namesake of the Pañchāla issues. Another inscription from Rāmnagar refers to one Dhruvamitra who has been identified by R. D. Banerji with Dhruvamitra of the Pañchāla coins;[46] but, as there is no royal title before his name, we are not sure if he was a king.

An overstruck piece has recently been discovered and described as a coin of Vaṅgapāla counterstruck by Dāmagupta and this has been taken to indicate that Vaṅgapāla was defeated by Dāmagupta.[47] But a careful study of the coin shows that it originally belonged to Dāmagupta and was overstruck by Vaṅgapāla. For, as the illustration of the counterstruck coin shows, on one side the *chakra* which is known to be the reverse type of Dāmagupta's coin[48] is partially obliterated by a square incuse containing the entire obverse device of Vaṅgapāla's coin, viz., the three usual Pañchāla symbols with the name of Vaṅgapāla below. On the other side, the reverse symbol of Vaṅgapāla's coins (S 16)[49] is overstruck and hence comes out prominently over the faint traces of the three Pañchāla symbols along with the name of Dāmagupta below, i.e., the obverse device of the coin of Dāmagupta.

XXIV, p. 136, Pl. II. 12) is extremely doubtful. For, the supposed latter *vaṁ* is not followed by *ga* and there is no explanation for the letter *ha* following *sa*. The letter supposed to be *vaṁ* may actually be *thi*, in which case the legend may be read as *Hathīpalasa*, i.e. 'of Hastipāla'. If so, this Hastipāla may well be identified with his namesake of some Kauśāmbī coins (see p. 124 and n. 86 above). K. D. Bajpai who accepts the reading 'Vaṅgapāla' is not however inclined to attribute this seal to Vaṅgapāla of Pañchāla, since the writing of the seal is of a later date (*JNSI* XXV, p. 101).

45 *SI*, p. 97 and *BMC* (*AI*), pp. xcvi-viii.

46 *JASB*, 1909, pp. 271-72.

47 See *JNSI*, II, p. 116, Pl. X-A. 5, and for correct reading of the legend see ibid., p. 79, n. 1.

48 Cf. ibid., XV, pp. 43-44, Pl. II. 7.

49 Cf. *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 10, Pl. I. 2.

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All this suggests that it was Vaṅgapāla who overstruck Dāmagupta's coin, not vice versa. For, had Dāmagupta been the overstriker, Vaṅgapāla's devices would not have appeared so intact and more prominently than those of the former. Anyway, from the evidence of the coin it is clear that Dāmagupta and Vaṅgapāla were not far removed in time from each other, and the former was probably a predecessor of the latter.

King Vaṅgapāla was apparently succeeded by his son Bhāgavata, since he was also a king, as known from the Pabhosā inscription (No. 2), though his coins are not yet discovered. It is not known if Bhāgavata's son Āshāḍhasena actually succeeded his father, as he is neither given the title *rājan* in his inscriptions nor are his coins known. But he might well have been a king at a later date. The rule of Bṛihaspatimitra (the sister's son of Āshāḍhasena and a king of Kauśāmbi) at Pañchāla is, however, somewhat doubtful, as we do not know the type of the coins with the name of Bṛishapatimitra discovered at Ahichchhatrā, along with those of some other known Pañchāla rulers.[50]

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50 His coins are noticed in *IMC*, p. 185, but they are still unpublished. Since he is one of the ten kings represented by 16 coins of the find, his issues do not seem to have been copious.

51 Referred to in *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 14, n. 2.

52 *BMC (AI)*, pp. cxix and 192, Pl. XXVII. 4.

53 Ibid., p. 194, Pl. XXVII. 11.

54 Ibid., p. 197, Pl. XXVIII. 1.

55 Cf. Ibid., p. cxviii and *DHI*², p. 137.

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53 Ibid., p. 194, Pl. XXVII. 11.

54 Ibid., p. 197, Pl. XXVIII. 1.

55 Cf. Ibid., p. cxviii and *DHI*[2], p. 137.

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her right hand and her hair is shown in five flames. The deity on the coins of Bhadraghosha is identified with Bhadrā, the consort of Kuvera, in allusion to the king's name.[56] A star (S 42) and S 16 are associated with the goddess on the coins of both Bhadraghosha and Phālgunīmitra. A *svastika* (S 31) is moreover found on Bhadraghosha's coin. As we have already seen above, Bhadraghosha cannot be identified with the Śuṅga king Ghosha or Ghoshavasu. The reverse of Rudraghosha's coin is blurred, the characters of the legend however indicate that he was one of the earlier rulers and might have been a predecessor of Bhadraghosha.

Bhadraghosha is again connected with Bhānumitra and Sūryamitra, since on some of the coins of all these three princes, the second Pañchāla symbol (S 43) is counterstruck by the third one (S 36).[57] The significance of this peculiar counterstricking is not known; but it suggests that the three rulers were related in point of time. The reverses of the coins of Bhānumitra and Sūryamitra also provide a connecting link between the two, by representing the same diety in allusion to their names. Both depict the sun-god Bhānu or Sūrya as a rayed disc; on Bhānumitra's coins, it stands only on a railed pedestal between two pillars, while on Sūryamitra's coins it stands over a triangle-headed object (S 48) between two pillars in railling.[58] The latter symbol (S 48) is "very likely the summary representation of the fire-alter", which is essential in sacrifices according to the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[59] The name Bhānumitra is also seen on some Audumbara coins; and it is significant that the third Pañchāla symbol (S 36) occurs on some of them.[60] But as the country of the Audumbaras (Gurdaspur and Hoshiarpur Districts) is far separated from the Pañchāla country, and as the bilingual Audumbara coins are completely different from the Pañchāla series, it is somewhat doubtful if the two Bhānumitras can be identical. The

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56 *BMC* (*AI*), p. cxvii and *JNSI*, III, p. 82.

57 Cf. *IMC*, p. 187, No. 2 Pl. XXII. 2 (Bhadraghosha); *CAI*, p. 82, Pl. VII. 7 (Bhānumitra); and *JASB* 1880, p. 24, Pl. III. 3 (Sūryamitra).

58 Cf. the reverses of *BMC* (*AI*), p. 196, Pl. XXVII. 15 (Bhānumitra), and ibid, p, 193, Pl. XXVII. 8 (Sūryamitra).

59 *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VII. 4. 1. 10; Cf *DHI*[2], p. 139.

60 *BMC* (*AI*), p. 127, Pl. XV. 21.

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name Sūryamitra is found to be very common at that time, since it occurs also on the coins of the Kanauj, Mathurā, Uddehika and Sudavapa series. It does not seem probable that Sūryamitra of the distinct series of Pañchāla coins was identical with any of his namesakes of the other series of coins.[61]

Bhānumitra and Śūryamitra are again connected with Agnimitra by another countermarking symbol, viz. a female figure, which obliterates all the three Pañchāla symbols of their coins.[62] This probably indicates that Bhānumitra and Sūryamitra were followed by Agnimitra. This Agnimitra cannot be identified with Agnimitra of the Kauśāmbī coins, who, as we have seen, was probably a predecessor of Bṛihaspatimitra ; nor can he be identified with Agnimitra Śuṅga who flourished much earlier.[63]

The reverse deity on Agnimitra's coins bears a striking similarity with that on Bhūmimitra's,[64] although they are respectively identified with Agni and Bhūmi in allusion to the particular king's name. The god on Agnimitra's coins stands facing on a railed platform between two pillars and his hair is represented by five flames. Mme Bazin Foucher, however 'finds in him the representation of Ādi Nāga, the presiding deity of Ahichchhatrā'.[65] Cunningham describes the deity on Bhūmimitra's coins as Bhūmi or the earth personified.[66] Allan, however, shows that the figure being male, should not be identified with the earth-goddess Bhūmi, but probably with 'the king of the *nāgas* representing the earth' ; for, he observes, that the deity has his hair represented by five snakes (*nāgas*) and also holds a snake in his hand.[67] Agnimitra his another variety of smaller coins, on which the deity (apparently the

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61 Cf. *BMC (AI)*, p. 147, Pl. XIX. 12 (Kanauj) ; ibid., p. 174, Pl. XXV. 17 (Mathurā) ; ibid., p. 240, Pl XXXV. 17 (Uddehika) and *JNSI*, III, p. 47, Pl. IV-A.2 (Sudavapa). Cf. also p. 102 above.

62 Cf. *IMC*, p. 187, No. 2 Pl. XXII. 3 (Bhānumitra) ; *JASB* 1880, p. 87, Pl. VII. 6A. C (Sūryamitra) ; and *BMC(AI)*, p. 201, Pl. XLVI. 16 (Agnimitra).

63 *BMC(AI)*, p. 153, Pl. XXVIII. 15 (Agnimitra of Kauśāmbī) ; cf. pp. 97 and 117-18 above.

64 Cf. the reverses of ibid., p, 200, Pl. XXVIII. 8 (Agnimitra) and ibid., p. 198, Pl. XXVIII. 6 (Bhūmimitra)-

65 Cf. *DHI*[2], p. 147.

66 *CAI*, p. 83.

67 *BMC(AI)*, p, cxviii.

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same) is depicted as standing on lotus.[68] Anyway, the similarity of the reverse devices of the coins of Agnimitra and Bhūmimitra seems to connect them chronologically.

Agnimitra is again connected with Indramitra by a particular type of coins of which the first two Pañchāla symbols (S 37, S 43) are replaced by a new one (S 47).[69] The coins of these two rulers are also associated in several hoards ; coins of Agnimitra and Indramitra are said to be most common in the Kośala region.[70] It is possible, therefore, that the extension of the powers of the Pañchāla princes towards Kośala was effected during the time of Agnimitra and Indramitra. The Pāṭaliputra excavations have also yielded a few coins of Bhūmimitra and Indramitra,[71] which may not, however, signify the rule of the Pañchāla kings in Pāṭaliputra.

The everse device of Indramitra's coins is a deity, presumably Indra, represented either as standing, facing, on a predestal[72] or as standing inside a domed shrine.[73] The first type was copied by Vishṇumitra,[74] while the latter one was copied by Vishṇumitra,[75] Prajāpatimitra[76] and Jayagupta.[77] Of the three princes, again, Vishṇumitra is more closely connected with Indramitra, as he uses both the types of the latter's coins. Moreover, these two rulers alone are assaciated by the issue of some silver-alloyed coins.[78] There is a marked similarity between the representations of the deities on pedestal on the coins of Indramitra and Vishṇumitra,[79] although they are to

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68 Ibid., p. 201, Pl. XXVIII. 11 ; that the diety stands on lotus is not noted by Allan, while this fact is noticed by Carlleyle and Rivett-Carnac in *JASB* 1880, p. 88, Pl. VIII. 13-15.

69 Cf. *JNSI*, III, p. 81, Pl. Fig. 6 (Agnimitra) and ibid., Figs. 4-5 (Indramitra).

70 See *IMC*, pp. 184-85, *BMC(AI)*, p. cxix, and *JNSI*, XIII, p. 140.

71 *ASR* 1912-13, p. 84.

72 *BMC(AI)*, p. 204, Pl. XXIX. 1.

73 Ibid., Pl. XXIX. 3.

74 Ibid., p. 202, Pl. XXIX. 6.

75 *JNSI*, III, p. 81 : the name is possibly Vishṇumitra, not Viśvāmitra, as given there.

76 *JNSI*, III, p. 80, Pl. Figs. 1-2.

77 *BMC(AI)*, p. 202, Pl. XXVII. 3.

78 *JNSI*, V, pp. 153-54 (Vishṇumitra) and ibid., XXIV, p. 16, n.4 (Indramitra).

79 Cf. *BMC(AI)*, p. 204, Pl. XXIX. 1 (Indramitra) and ibid., p. 202, Pl. XXIX. 8 (Vishṇumitra).

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be identified with Indra and Vishṇu respectively, in allusion to the kings' names. Both Cunningham and Coomaraswamy described the god on Vishṇumitra's coins as having four arms.[80] But Allan does not think that the deity is represented as four-armed. "His robes hanging down," he says, "give this effect, which is found in other representations of deities with uplifted arm, e.g. Agni and Indra, also. Four arms would come from the shoulders and not from the elbows."[81] J. N. Banerjea, however, points out that the figure may be four-armed, as arms coming out from elbows are not unknown in ancient Indian sculptures.[82] The object in the deity's upper left hand is the *chakra* held by the rim, but that on the right, taken by Allan as trident, is not distinct.

The deity on Prajāpatimitrā's coins depicted as standing in an archway, 'must be taken to represent Prajāpati on the analogy of other Pañchāla coins.'[83] But the depiction is so crude that nothing can be made out from it. We do not know if this Prajāpatimitra was identical with Prajāpatimitra of the Kauśāmbī coins,[84] who seems to have flourished about the same period.

Jayamitra seems to be associated with Indramitra and Vishṇumitra, as the deity on the former's coins also stands on a platform.[85] The platform on which the deity stands on Jayamitra's coins has, however, a pillar on either side, the one to the right being crowned by a spear-head, and the other to the left by two cross-bars. Jayamitra's coins are, again, smaller in size like those of the Indramitra group of rulers, whom he might have succeeded. Jayagupta is connected with Prajāpatimitra by his reverse type and probably with Rudragupta by the name-ending.

The reverse devices of the coins of Rudragupta[86] and Dhruvamitra[87] are similar. It is either a trident or a battle-axe

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80 Cunningham, *CAI*, p. 84; Coomaraswamy, *Eastern Art*, 1928, p. 35.

81 *BMC(AI)*, p. cxix.

82 *DHI*,[2] p. 130.

83 *JNSI*, III, p. 80.

84 Ibid., IV, p. 140, Pl. XII. 12. Cf. pp. 101 and 122 above.

85 *BMC(AI)*, p. 203, Pl. XXVIII. 18.

86 Ibid., p. 192, Pl. XXVII. 1.

87 Ibid., p. 199, Pl. XXVII. 5. It is possibly a trident-battle-axe which may also refer to Śiva.

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between two pillars on basement. Both the trident and the battle-axe are attributes of Rudra-Śiva, also known as Dhruva, hence the devices apply to both Dhruvamitra and Rudragupta. Coins of these two rulers were also found associated at Rohtayya and Ramnagar.[88] They cannot be placed in between any of the rulers mentioned above, as all of them are interconnected by their coin types. Nor can they be placed before Dāmagupta and Vaṇgapāla, since the palaeography of the coin-legends of Dhruvamitra and Rudragupta suggests a later date for them. They may, therefore, be taken as succeeding Jayamitra and others. It is doubtful if this Dhruvamitra may be identified with Sudavapa Dhruvamitra of the Rairh coins.[89] Another ruler, Yajñapāla,[90] seems to be connected with Dhruvamitra and Rudragupta by his reverse type, which, although not so distinct, shows some similarity with their reverse device. It has been suggested that the reverse device of Yajñapāla represents 'a sacrificial altar, flame, sacrificer and *yūpa*', indicating the performance of a *yajña* or sacrifice, in allusion to the king's name.[91]

The reverse types of the coins of Varuṇamitra, Vasusena, Yugasena, Anamitra, Śivaṇandi-Śri and Śri-Nandi do not exhibit any deity or its emblem as is usual on the Pañchāla coins. These rulers therefore seem to have flourished at a later period, when the practice of exhibiting a deity (or its emblem) in allusion to the king's name was not probably followed so scrupulously. The reverse of Varuṇamitra's coin shows 'two trees side by side',[92] while that of Vasusena exhibits a horse.[93] This Varuṇamitra seems to be much later than his Kauśāmbī namesake, as is indicated by a comparison of the coin-legends

88 *JASB* 1902, pp. 42-43 ; *BMC(AI)*, p. cxx ; *JUPHS*, XV. p. 113.

89 *JNSI*, III, p. 48, Pl. IV-A. 3.

90 Ibid., IV, p. 17, Pl. I. 18.

91 Ibid., XXIV, p. 151.

92 Ibid., XXV, p. 243, Pl. I. 7, 7a.

93 B. P. Bhatt suggests that Vasusena wanted to publicise his name by connecting it with that of Vasumitra, through the depiction of the 'horse with bent neck and upturned tail', representing the *Aśvamedha*, the successful performance of which by Pushyāmitra was greatly due to his grandson Vasumitra (ibid., XXIV, p. 151). But this idea is most imaginative.

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of the two Varuṇamitras.[94] Yugasena is connected with Vasusena only by his name-ending.

Anamitra, Śivanandi-Śri and Śri-Nandi, again, appear to be the latest of the above-mentioned six known rulers, since both the obverse and the reverse of their coins are different from the usual Pañchāla issues. None of the three characteristic Pañchāla symbols appears on the obverse of their coins, although the reverse of Śri-Nandi's coin shows the first Pañchāla symbol (S 37). The obverse of Anamitra's coin bears a symbol similar to that found on some issues of Agnimitra and Indramitra (S 47), while the reverse has a symbol like Brāhmī *ya*, which may be taken to be a variant of the second Pañchāla symbol (S 43). Thus he is somewhat connected with the so-called Mitra group of rulers.

Śivanandi-Śri and Śri-Nandi are connected by their name-ending and the honorific Śrī, as well as by the fact that the obverse of their coins bears only the royal name. The reverse of Śivanandi-Śrī's coin bears a tree-in-railing like that of Yugasena, while that of Śrī-Nandi shows the first Pañchāla symbol (S 37).

This Śr-Nandi has been identified with Nandi who was defeated by Samudragupta,[95] as stated in his Allahabad *praśasti*. But since Achyuta, who has been identified with the ruler of the same name, whose coins have been unearthed from the post-Kushāṇa stratum at Ahichchhatra,[96] is also known to have been defeated by Samudragupta from the same inscription, it is not likely that both Nandi and Achyuta ruled at Ahichchhatrā. In fact, the coins of both Śivanandi-Śrī and Śrī-Nandi are so different from the usual Pañchāla issues that there arises some doubt as to their attribution to Pañchala at all. Even if they are taken to be rulers of the Pañchāla region, they might have held sway over some other portion of Pañchāla (*Kāmpilya* ?)[97] and not in Ahichchhatrā proper, where king Achyuta was presumably ruling during the time of Samudragupta.

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94 The date of Varuṇamitra of Kauśāmbī is known from his Kauśāmbī inscription : cf. pp. 116 and 103 above.

95 Cf. R. R. Tripathi, *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 22.

96 *Ancient India*, No. 1, p. 39 and *IMC*, p, 186.

97 Cf. K. D. Bajpai, *JNSI*, XXIV, p.19.

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With regard to the coins of Achyuta Allan states that, 'the epigraphy (of the coin legend) points to this (the Gupta) period and the module of the coin and its reverse type, a wheel, suggests that it is not remote in time or place from the coins of the Nāga dynasty, one of whom, Gaṇapatināga, shared the fate of Achyuta.'[98] It is quite possible that Achyuta belonged to the Nāga family.

Two types of coins are known of Achyuta—both having on the reverse a wheel of eight spokes. The obverse of type 1 depicts a bust to right and the legend *Achyu* on either side of it,[99] while that of Type 2 bears the legend *A-chyu* only in bold characters.[100] The bust on Type 1 is taken to be imitated from a Roman denarius by M. Drouin who holds that the 'bust' type coins were issued much earlier than the 'name' type coins, and thus he distinguishes two kings of the same name.[101] But, as Smith observes, the two types having identical reverse and found together at Ahichchhatrā should be attributed to the same king.[102] It has also been pointed out by Allan that, although unusual on copper, the bust need not be taken to have been copied directly from the Roman coins, as it was a familiar feature on the silver coins of the Śaka Satraps of Western India.[103]

The *chakra* symbol on the reverse of Achyuta's coins is significant. While this device occurs on the coins of some Nāga kings of Padmāvatī, viz. Vyāghranāga, Vasunāga, Bṛihaspatināga, Vibhunāga, Devanāga and Gaṇapatināga, suggesting Achyuta's connection with the Nāga family, it also bears an allusion to the king's name, as it represents 'probably the *sudarśanachakra* of the god Achyuta (Vishṇu).'[104] This feature seems to connect the coins of Achyuta with the earlier series of Pañchāla coins. We do not know of any other ruler of the dynasty to which Achyuta belonged.[105] As already noted, he was overthrown by Samudragupta.

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98 *BMC(AI)*, p. lxxx.

99 *IMC*, p. 188, No. 1 Pl. XXII. 8.

100 *BMC(AI)*, pp. 117, Pl. XIV. 1.

101 *Revue Numismatique* 1898, p. 141.

102 *IMC*, p. 186.

103 *BMC(AI)*, p. lxxx.

104 Cf. *AIU*, p. 173. Cf. also the wheel symbol on Dāmagupta's coins.

105 There is another somewhat similar coin of uncertain attribution bearing on

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The above study of coins suggests the following chronological sequence of the Pañchāla rulers.

Names of Rulers	Facts suggesting connection
1 Dāmagupta	(a) No. 2 counterstruck a coin of No. 1.
2 Vaṅgapāla	(b) Chronological sequence of Nos. 2, 3 and 4 is known from inscription.
3 Bhāgavata	(c) Nos. 1, 2, 5, 6 and 8 are connected by S 16.
4 Āshāḍhasena	(d) Common name-ending seems to connect Nos. 7 and 8.
5 Viśvapāla (?)	(e) The counterstriking of the third Pañchāla symbol over the second one connects Nos. 8, 9 and 10.
6 Phālgunīmitra	(f) Nos. 9 and 10 are connected by the reverse device.
7 Rudraghosha	(g) A counterstruck female figure connects Nos. 9, 10 and 11.
8 Bhadraghosha	(h) Nos. 11 and 12 are connected by the reverse device.
9 Bhānumitra	(i) S 47 connects Nos. 11 and 13.
10 Sūryamitra	(j) Nos. 13 and 14 are alone known to have issued silver-alloyed coins.
11 Agnimitra	(k) Nos. 13, 14 and 15 are connected by the device of the 'deity on a platform'.
12 Bhūmimitra	(l) The device 'deity in an archway' connects Nos. 13, 14, 16 and 17.
13 Indramitra	(m) Nos. 17 and 18 are connected by the common name-ending.
14 Vishṇumitra	(n) The reverse device connects Nos. 18 and 19.
15 Jayamitra	(o) The reverse device of No. 20 is similar to that of Nos. 18 and 19.
16 Prajāpatimitra	(p) Absence of any deity or its emblem on the reverse connects Nos. 21-26.
17 Jayagupta	
18 Rudragupta	

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the obverse the syllable *Pṛi* and a sixteen-spoked wheel on the reverse : *BMC(AI)*, p. 119, Pl. XIV. 6. Allan thinks that the coin "is later than the *acyu* coins and may quite well be Hūṇa" (see ibid. p. lxxx).

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19	Dhruvamitra	(q) Nos. 21-23 were the last to use the three Pañchāla symbols on the obverse and thereby come earlier than Nos. 24-27, who break the tradition.
20	Yajñapāla	
21	Varuṇamitra	(r) Nos. 22 and 23 are connected by their name-ending.
22	Vasusena	(s) The reverse device (tree-in-railing) connects Nos. 23 and 25.
23	Yugasena	(t) Nos. 25 and 26 are connected by the obverse type, by their name-ending and their honerific 'Sri', which is unusual on these coins.
24	Anamitra	
25	Śivanandi-Śrī	(u) No. 27 is connected with Nos. 25 and 26 by the obverse type, which contains only the name of the king, while the reverse *chakra* connects him with Dāmagupta of the earlier group.
26	Śrī-Nandi	
27	Achyuta	

The reverse devices of the Pañchāla coins form a very interesting subject for the students of religious history. But scholars do not agree as to their significance. The reverse devices of the Pañchāla coins, however, fall into three main categories :

(1) The anthropomorphic forms of deities with reference to the respective king's name, as on the coins of Agni-mitra, Bhadra-ghosha, Bhūmi-mitra, Indra-mitra, Jaya-gupta, Jay-mitra, Phālgunī-mitra, Prajāpati-mitra, and Vishṇu-mitra.

(2) Symbolic representation of the deities concerned, e.g. Bhānu or Sūrya represented by a globe or a rayed disc on the issues of Bhānu-mitra and Sūrya-mitra ; Rudra and Dhruva (i.e. Śiva) by a trident or a battle-axe on those of Rudra-gupta and Dhruva-mitra ; the alleged representation of a *yajña* or sacrifice on that of Yajña-pāla ; and the (*Sudarśana-*)*chakra* or wheel on those of Achyuta (and Dāmagupta ?).[106]

(3) Devices other than deities (or their emblems) which have no apparent connection with the king's name, such as,

106 We do not know if the name of Dāma-gupta has any connection with his reverse device, which is also a *chakra*.

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a symbol like Brāhmī *ya* on the coin of Anamitra, tree-in-railing on those of Śivanandi-Śrī and Yugasena, the first Pañchāla symbol (S 37) on that of Śrī-Nandi, S 16 on those of Vaṅgapāla, 'two trees side by side' on those of Varuṇamitra, and a 'spirited horse' on that of Vasusena. The reverse devices of the coins of Rudraghosha and Viśvapala (?) are illegible.

Allan suggested that the reverse deity whose name forms a component of the king's name was the patron deity of the concerned king.[107] Thus, Agni was the favourite got of Agni-mitra, Indra that of Indra-mitra, Vishṇu that of Vishṇu-mitra and so on. But B.P. Bhatt[108] criticises this view on the ground that it is not possible to think that the kings frequently changed their names in order to suit their new cult allegiance. While agreeing with Allan that the reverse deity has some connection with the name of the king of the obverse, he thinks that the representations of the reverse devices are an attempt on the king's part to portray or give a visual impression of his name. But this explanation does not seem to be quite convincing either. For, the reverse representation of the deity is so crude that it gives no idea to the common people about its identity and consequent association with the king's name. Anyway, it appears more reasonable to think that the deity depicted on the reverse signifies the cult-allegiance of the king. We have also similar instances in other series of Indian coins. In the case of the coins of the Greek kings of Bactria and India we find that each king depicted on the reverse of his standard silver coins his favourite deity, which was, strictly speaking, his 'canting type'. Thus, Zeus in seen on the coins of Diodotus I and his son Diodotus II[109] as their 'personal' god, Herakles on those of Euthydemus I, his son Demetrius I and his grandson(?) Euthydemus II (although the representations are different),[110] the Dioskuroi on those of Eucratides

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107 *BMC(AI)*, p. cxvii.

108 *JNSI*, XXIV, pp. 149 ff.

109 See *CIGC*, p. 112, Pl. XIII. 4 (Diodotus I) and ibid., p. 113, Pl. XIII. 8 (Diodotus II).

110 Ibid., p. 131, Pl. XVIII. 2 (Euthydemus I); ibid., p. 107, Pl. XI. 10 (Demetrius I); and ibid., p. 133, Pl. XIX. 1 (Euthydemus II). Hirakles is represented as *seated* on a rock on the coins of Euthydemus I, but he is depicted as *standing* and *crowning himself* on those of Demetrius I and as standing and *crowned* on the issues of

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I,[111] Athena on those of Menander I (Soter) and the Stratos[112], and so on. Usually the name of the deity had no connection with that of the king, but sometimes the favourite deity, as seen on the coins of a particular king bore allusion (as in the case of the Pañchāla coins) to the king's name, e.g. Apollo on those of Apollodotus I and Apollodotus II,[113] and Artemis on those of Artemidorus.[114] The later coins also sometimes reflect the personal cult-devotion of the king concerned. Thus, the figure of Śiva standing with his bull on the issues of the Kushāṇa rulers Vema Kadphises and Vāsudeva I signify their inclination towards Śaivism.[115] Amongst the Gupta rulers, Kumāragupta I depicted Kumāra (Kārttikeya) on some of his gold coins in allusion to his own name.[116]

The Pañchāla rulers, in like manner, might have been personally inclined towards some particular deity. That did not necessitate the changing of the name of a king according to that of the deity of his choice, but, on the contrary, the king's name had probably something to do with the selection of his personal god or goddess.

It is to be noted that the deities (or their respective emblems) depicted on the reverse of the Pañchāla coins are all of the Brahmanical pantheon, which shows that the Pañchāla rulers were mainly followers of Brahmanism. But the representation

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Euthydemus II. A second Demetrius is distinguished from Demetrius I by his 'canting type', viz. 'Athena with shield and spear' '(ibid., p. 109, Pl. XIII. 1) in place of 'Herakles crowning himself'.

111 Ibid., p. 124, Pl. XVI. 5. A second Eucratides is also distinguished by his personal type, which is 'Apollo with bow and arrow' (ibid., p. 129, Pl. XVII. 9) instead of the Dioskuroi.

112 Ibid, p. 149, Pl. XXIV. 2. A different reverse type, viz. 'Winged Nike' on some coins bearing the name Menander Dikaios distinguishes him from Menander I Sotar (cf, ibid., p. 161, Pl. XXVI. 8). For the respective coins of the three Stratos see ibid., p. 181, Pl. XXXII. 4 (Strato I), p. 183, Pl. XXXII. 8 (Strato II), and p. 184, Pl. XXXIII. 12 (Strato III).

113 Ibid., p. 94, Pl. VII. 6 (Apollodotus I) and ibid., p. 96, Pl. VII. 14 (Apollodotus II) The representation of Apollo on coins of these two kings is however slightly different.

114 Ibid., p. 104, Pl. X.8.

115 *PMC*, I, p. 183, Pl. XVII. 31 (Vema Kadphises) and ibid., p. 208, Pl. XIX. 209 (Vāsudeva I).

116 See A. S. Altekar *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire* p. 205, Pl. XIII. 11-14.

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of different deities on different kings' coins may indicate the early rise of various sects within the Brahmanical fold. At least we have here interesting allusions to the emergence of three of the major Brahmanical cults,[117] viz. those of Sūrya, Vishṇu and Śiva. Of course, we know from other evidences also that the religious history of the time is particularly marked by the rise of Vaishṇavism and Śaivism. The female deities depicted on some of the Pañchāla coins may represent the cult of Śakti.

Allan is of opinion that the dynasty of Pañchāla covered the period from about 200 B.C. to the end of the first century B.C.[118] Smith, judging from the script of the legends, thinks that the date of the Pañchāla coins might range between 100 B.C. and 100 A.D.,[119] while D.C. Sircar assigns them to the three centuries following the middle of the first century B.C.[120]

Now, the Pabhosā inscriptions of Āshāḍhasena are generally assigned to the second half of the first century B.C. So his grand-father king Vaṅgapāla might have flourished about the first half of the first century B.C., and Dāmagupta who overstuck Vaṅgapāla's coin probablā ruled somewhat earlier. Therefore, the local dynasty of Pañchāla seems to have been founded about the closing years of the second century B.C. or the beginning years of the first century B.C. There is no definite evidence to show that Pañchāla was included within the Kushāṇa empire, althougn that is possible and Kushāṇa coins are found at Ahichchhatrā.[121] But since the local coinage of Pañchāla, which was a most uniform and continuous series, seems to cover even the reign-periods of Kaṇishka and Huvishka, it is somewhat doubtful if the Kushāṇas had any hold over the Pañchāla area. During the post-Kushāṇa period, about the end

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117 Cf. Vidya Prakash's paper, 'Reverse Device of Pañchāla Coinage', read in the Seminar on 'Local Coins of Northern India upto 300 A.D.' (to be published by the Hindu University, Varanasi). Vidya Prakash, however, refers to the five major Brahmanical cults without indicating how they are represented on the Pañchāla coins.

118 *BMC(AI)*, p. cxx.

119 *IMC*, p. 185.

120 *AIU*, p, 172.

121 See *Ancient India*, No. 1, p. 39.

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of the third century A.D., Pañcnāla however seems to have been ruled by some princes of the Nāga family and it is not unlikely that the so-called Mitra dynasty was overthrown by the Nāgas. Anyway, allowing an average of about fifteen years for each reign the rulers so far known (at least 25 in number, excluding Śivanandi-Śrī and Śrī-Nandi) from Dāmagupta to Achyuta may have covered a beriod of more than three centuries and a half. Thus, calculating backwards from Achyuta, the last ruler of Pañchāla and a contemporary of Samudragupta, the beginning of the rule of the early dynasty of Pañchāla cannot be dated much earlier than the first century B.C.

II. Almorā

Almorā is a hill district of the Kumaon Division of Uttar Pradesh. Coins of this area are distinguished from all other Indian issues by their style, fabric, size and types. "They appear to be of some alloy of silver and are heavier than any other Indian coins."[122]

Three specimens are known to have been 'found together in Almorah in the Himalaya mountains',[123] representing the issues of three kings, viz. Haridatta, Śivadatta and Śivapālta. The obverse of the coins of Haridatta[124] and Śivadatta[125] bears a circle in the centre, joined with a curved line (S 21); on the margin is a stag or a bull before a symbol described as tree-in railing (S 38) and the name of the king in large Brāhmī characters surrounding the flan of the coin. On the obverse of Śivapālita's coin,[126] a rude figure (human or divine) takes the place of the central symbol which also finds its place at one side; the rest of the devices are the same as those on the coins of Haridatta and Śivadatta (S 38 being replaced by S 39). The reverse type of all the three coins 'appears to be an altar surmounted by [a triangle-headed standard] with an elaborate *nandipada* symbol on its face' (S 25).

"The only other coin known of this series," as Allan says, "is one in the possession of Captain R. F. C. Martin, R.E. The

122 *IC*, p. 10.
123 *BMC* (*AI*), p. lxxx.
124 Ibid., p. 120, Pl. XIV. 9.
125 Ibid., Pl. XIV. 7.
126 Ibid, Pl. XIV. 8.

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types are similar to those of Śivadatta. The name cannot be read with certainty but the consonants apper to be M-g-bh-t-sa.[127] There are two other unassigned coins in the British Museum, which have similar symbols (differently arranged) on the obverse and reverse, but they differ so much in style, weight and size that Allan doubts their connection with the Almorā coins.[128] Three more coins with the name of Śivadatta, are again reported to have been found from Śrāvasti (Set-Mahet); but they are of much lighter weight and 'of copper, with a silver coating visible on them.[129]

Different scholars have connected the Almorā coins with different series, due to the inter-connection of their symbols. Thus, Rapson recognises in the animal on the obverse of Almora coins a 'stag' as seen on the Kuṇinda coins, and, accordingly, attributes them to a branch of the Kuṇindas.[130] The so called tree symbol (S 38 or S 39), again, has some similarity with one of the three symbols characteristic of Pañchāla coins (S 37). This has led Powell-Price who, however, takes all the Almorā symbols as Buddhistic, to think that there was a group of Indian Buddhist kings ruling at Pañchāla, Almorā, the country of the Kuṇindas, and other places during this period.[131] But there is no reason to connect the Almorā symbols with Buddhism, and consequently Powell-Price's supposition seems to be far-fetched.

The complex *nandipada* on the reverse of the Almorā coins has, again, some similarity with its counterpart (S 24) on the coins of some rulers of the later dynasty of Ayodhyā.[132] This fact, coupled with the discovery of the aforesaid Almorā type of silver-coated copper coins with the name of Śivadatta at Śravastī, has led some scholars to identify Śivadatta of the Almorā coins with the king of the same name of the Ayodhyā series, and to hold that the Ayodhyā rulers 'passed to Almora

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127 Ibid., p. lxxxi.

128 Ibid., pp. lxxxi and 282, No. 20 Pl. XLV. 20, and No. 21.

129 *JNSI*, XIII, p. 142, Pl. VII. 6.

130 *IC*, p. 11 and *CHI*, p. 529. It may also be pointed out that the symbol (S 38) before the stag on the Almorā coins is exactly the same as that found associated with the stag on the Kuṇinda coins.

131 *JUPHS*, IV, p. 10.

132 Cf. *BMC(AI)*, p. lxxxix and Pl. XVII. 17 (Kumudasena). This symbol was used by Kumudasena, Ajavarman, Mādhavavarman, Saṅghamitra and Vijayamitra.

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by the way of Pañchāla.[133] But though the coins of the two Śivadattas are of about the same period, there are several difficulties in accepting the suppositions. Firstly, the elaborate *nāndipada* of the Almorā coins is not *exactly identical* with the *nandipada* of the Ayodhyā coins. Secondly, even if we assume some inter-connection between the two somewhat similar symbols, it is significant that the *nandipada* symbol is found on none of the coins of Śivadatta of Ayodhyā or, in the matter, no one coin of any other ruler of the earlier dynasty to which Śivadatta belonged. Lastly, the Almorā-type coins with the name of a Śivadatta, discovered at Śrāvastī (Set-Mahet), are far smaller in size and lighter in weight and, being of copper coated with silver, may not be the genuine issues of Śivadatta of Almorā. It is, therefore, difficult to accept the identification of the Śivadattas of Almorā and Ayodhyā.

The coin with the name of 'M-g-bh-t-sa', as referred to by Allan, is interesting. It apparently ends in *-bhūti*, and may tentatively be restored as Mṛigabhūti. The name reminds us of the famous Kuṇinda king Amoghabhūti ; and in view of the facts that the Almorā coins are connected with the Kuṇinda coins by the common occurence of the figure of stag and Symbol No. 38 on them, and that the Kuṇinda coins are also found in the neighbouring Garhwal District of the Kumaon region,[134] Rapson's suggestion that the issuers of the Almorā coins belonged to a branch of the Kuṇindas seems plausible. The device of 'stag' on the obverse of the Almorā coins appears also to bear some allusion to the name of Mṛigabhūti, who may thus be regarded as the founder of the dynasty. Since his coin-type is similar to those of Śivadatta and Haridatta, he seems to have been followed by these two rulers who were again succeeded by Śivapālita.

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133 Cf. P. L. Gupta, *JNSI*, XIII, p. 142. He takes the Almorā coins to be the local coins of Śrāvasti in his paper read in the Seminar on Local coins, held at Varanasi in December, 1966.

134 Cf. Powell-Price, *JUPHS*, IV, p. 10 and S. C. Kala, *JNSI*, VIII, pp. 36-37. From the provenance of their coins Powell-Price comes to the conclusion that 'the Kuṇindas ruled over the lower Himalayas including the present Kumaon and some portion of the plains.' Pargiter also states that the territories of the Kuṇindas 'extended further east along the southern slopes of the Himalayas as far as Nepal' (*Mark. P.*, p. 316) ; cf. also *CHI*, p. 529 and Ch. IX, Sec. 3 (The Kuṇindas) below for the extent of the Kuṇinda territory.

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The date of the Almorā coins are given variously by different scholars. Rapson places them between the first century B.C. and the second century A.D.,[135] Allan assigns them to the latter half of the second or first half of the century B.C.,[136] while D. C. Sircar thinks that they may belong to the beginning of the first century A.D.[137] Now, as the dynasty was most probably overthrown by the Kushāṇa king Kaṇishka,[138] and as at least four kings are known to have ruled before that, the Almorā princes may be placed between the closing years of the first century B.C. and the third quarter of the first century A.D.

III. YUGAŚAILA (JAGATGRĀM)

Recent excavations at Jagatgrām, a village on the left bank of the Yamunā, three miles from the site of the Kālsi Ḍdicts of Aśoka, in the Dehra Dun District of Uttar Pradesh, have brought to light the sites of four *Aśvamedhas*, performed by an otherwise unknown king named Śīlavarman.[139] Some of the bricks used in the construction of the *svena-chiti* (eagle alter) connected with the *aśvamedha-yajña* bear inscriptions referring to the king. These inscriptions fall into two groups, as restored by T. N. Ramachandran :[140]

1. Nṛipate = r Vārshagaṇyasya Poṇa-shashṭhasya dhīmata[ḥ/*]
   Chaturthasy = āśvamedhasya chity = oyaṁ Śīlavarmaṇa[ḥ//*]

[Translation : This is the altar of the fourth horse-sacrifice performed by king Sīlavarman, who was of the Vārshagaṇya *gotra* and was sixth in descent from Poṇa or of Poṇa (*vaṁśa ?*)]

2. Siddham : Oṁ Yugeśvarasy = āśvamedhe Yugaśaila-
   mahipate [ḥ / *]
   Ishṭakā Vārshagaṇyasya nṛipate = ś Śīlavarmaṇa [ḥ // *]

[Translation : This brick is from (belongs to) the *aśvamedha* of (performed by) Śīlavarman, king of Yugaśaila and a *yugeśvara* or lord of *lustrum*].

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135 *IC*, p. 10.
136 *BMC(AI)*, p. lxxx.
137 *AIU*, p. 161, n. 3.
138 Cf. Ibid., p. 161.
139 *JOR*, XXI, pp. 1 ff. ; ibid, XXII, p. 100 ; and *IAR* 1953-54, pp. 10 f.
140 *IAR* 1953-54, p. 11.

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As pointed out by Ramachandran, Vṛishagaṇa is the 69th *gotra* mentioned by Pāṇini in his *Ashṭādhyāyī* and king Śīlavarman belonged to that *gotra*. Poṇa is taken by him as the name of the progenitor of the family of Śīlavarman, from whom he claimed to be the sixth in descent. He also suggests alternatively that the expression *Poṇashashṭha* may mean that Śīlavarman was the sixth Poṇa of the Dynasty,—'five other earlier kings having borne the sams name.'[141] D. C. Sircar takes Poṇa in the former sense and makes him 'the founder of Śīlavarman's family.'[142] The real significance of the name Poṇa—whether it refers to the founder of Śīlavarman's family or anything else—awaits further light.

Śīlavarman is called the lord of Yugaśaila which thus appears to be his capital. It is possible that the modern village of Jagatgrām where the inscribed bricks were found represents the site of Yugaśaila.

The term *yugeśvara* or *yugeśa* as applied to Śīlavarman is noteworthy. According to Ramachandran, it means 'lord of a *lustrum*' and implies purification by sacrifice. He points out that the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* refers to twelve *yugeśas* beginning with Vishṇu and ending with Bhaga, and suggests that Śīlavarman ranked himself with these *yugeśas* by virtue of his *Aśvamedha* sacrifices. The king's performance of *Aśvamedha* at least four times is compared by him with the Greek or Roman *lustrum* which was performed periodically (once in five years) for the purification of a nation.[143] He does not think that the *aśvamedhas* were performed to declare Śīlavarman's supremacy over other kings (*sārvabhaumatā*), since nothing is known about him from any other source,[144] D. C. Sircar, however, interprets the term *Yugeśvara* or *Yugeśa* as implying 'the king of the country called Yuga.'[145]

The inscriptions are assigned to the third century A. D.[146] So the dynasty to which king Śīlavarman belonged probably

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141 *JOR*, XXII, p, 100.

142 He has kindly communicated this interpretation in a letter dated 19-9-61.

143 *JOR*, XXII, p, 100 and *IAR* 1953-54, p. 11.

144 *JOR*, XXI, p. 30. Ramachandran has shown that '*Aśvamedha* was not only purificatory where sins were committed but was also elevatory where non-Aryans and persons other than brāhmaṇas and kshatriyas were concerned.'

145 This is also communicated in the letter referred to in note 142 above.

146 *JOR*, XXI, p. 1 ; *IAR* 1953-54, p. 11.

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came to power during the post-Kushāṇa period. Ramachandran suggests that king Śīlavarman might have belonged to the Yaudheya tribe, since some coins—enlisted under Class III in Allan's British Museum Catalogue—come also from the Dehra Dun District.[147] We have no means to confirm this suggestion, but it may be noted in this connection that a chief named Bhānuvarman is known from a coin found elsewhere in association with the Yaudheya coins of Class III.[148] In the absence of the tribal name on his coins, we cannot be sure if he was actually a Yaudheya chief. In any case, it is not unlikely that he belonged to the family of Śīlavarman.

147 *JOR*, XXI, p. 30. For Yaudheya coins of Class III, see *BMC(AI)*, p. 270, and for their discovery in the Dehra Dun District, see *JNSI*, II, pp. 109 ff.

148 *BMC(AI)*, pp. cl and 275, Pl. XL. 15 (enlisted under Class IV of Yaudheya coins).

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PART III

TRIBAL STATES OF THE PUNJAB REGION

NATURE OF THE PUNJAB STATES

While Madhyadeśa became the seat of a number of monarchical states, the hilly tracts of the Punjab and the adjoining areas became the cradle of republican states during our period. Literary texts throw some light on the existence of a few of these republican states. Epigraphical evidence in this respect is very meagre. By far the most valuable information is afforded by coins issued by these tribal republics. The legends on these coins often refer to these states as *gaṇa* or *janapada*.

The terms *gaṇa*, *janapada* as well as *nigama*, which occur in the coin-legends are known from Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, Kauṭilya and the *Mahābhārata*, and their implications are discussed by various scholars who generally recognise them as forms of political organisations or *saṅghas*.[1] It has been pointed out that *saṅgha* as distinguished from monarchy by Pāṇini and others denoted a republic, and that though *gaṇa* was often used as a synonym for *saṅgha*, it was also used in a specific sense to denote a particular kind and the best-known form of *saṅgha* or republic.[2] But K.M. Shembavnekar holds that Pāṇini does not attach any political character to the term *saṅgha* and that, even if it is used in the sense of a political body, it does not signify a republican form of government. He takes *saṅgha* as denoting a 'League' or a 'Confederacy' of tribes or states and concludes that "the various political *saṁghas* known to Pāṇini were monarchical clans or states joined together by bonds of confederation and designated by their tribal names, such as Yaudheyas, Mālavas, etc."[3]

It has, however, been clearly shown from Pāṇini's *sūtras* by scholars like D.R. Bhandarkar, K.P. Jayaswal and R.C. Majumdar that the word *saṅgha* is also used by the grammarian

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1 Cf. D.R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, pp. 140 ff.; K.P. Jayaswal, *HP*, Ch. IV; and R.C. Majumdar, *CLAI*,[2] Ch. III For Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, see *HP*, Ch. V, for Kauṭilya, ibid., Ch. VII, and for the *Mahābhārata*, ibid., Ch. XIV.

2 Cf. *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, pp. 146 and 149; *HP*, Part I, pp. 27-28, 33-34; and *CLAI*,[2] pp. 221-22.

3 *ABORI*, XXV, pp. 137 ff.

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in the sense of a political corporation signifying a *gaṇa*.[4] R.C. Majumdar has, moreover, drawn our attention to a passage in the *Avadāna Śataka* which clearly distinguishes between the countries ruled by kings and those ruled by *gaṇas*—where the term *gaṇa* cannot but signify a non-monarchical form of government.[5] Even if there is any scope for doubt about the implication of the terms *saṅgha* and *gaṇa* in the early Paninian literature, the character of *saṅgha* and *gaṇa* as non-monarchical form of popular government seems to be sufficiently demonstrated by Sections 81 (v. 25) and 107 (vv. 6 ff.) respectively of the Sāntiparvan of the *Mahābhārata*, the bearing of which upon the republican states of ancient India was pointed out by Jayaswal and R. C. Majumdar.[6] That the *gaṇas* were independent political corporations is also corroborated by the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, which distinguishes the tribal states of the Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas, Yaudheyas and others from the kingdoms, as well as by the coins struck in the names of the *gaṇas* of the Mālavas and Yaudheyas.[7]

Now, *gaṇa*, as understood by Jayaswal, meant 'number' and "was the assembly or parliament, so-called because of the 'number' or numbering of the members present. *Gaṇa-rājya*, consequently, denoted government by an assembly or parliament".[8] As R.C. Majumdar has shown, the *Mahābhārata* passage (Śāntiparvan, Ch. 107, vv. 23-26) suggesting the formation of something like a small cabinet by the *gaṇa*-leaders (*gaṇa-mukhyāḥ*), which alone would deal with matters requiring secret deliberation, probably refers to a cabinet system of government existing in the *gaṇas*.[9] He has also shown from a passage in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* that "the *saṅgha-mukhya* was to pursue that course of action which was approved by the members of the *saṅgha*" i.e. the general assembly of the corporation.[10] It thus appears that

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4 Cf. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, pp. 141-42 ; Jayaswal, *HP*, Part I, pp. 26-28, 33 ; and R.C. Majumdar, *CLAI*,[2] pp. 221-22.

5 Cf. *CLAI*,[2] pp. 223-24.

6 Cf. Jayaswal, *HP*, Part I, pp. 125 ff. and 191 ff. ; and R.C. Majumdar, *CLAI*,[2] pp. 257-67.

7 Cf. *CLAI*,[2] p. 230.

8 *HP*, Part I, pp. 26-27.

9 *CLAI*,[2] p. 265.

10 Ibid., pp. 251-52.

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saṅgha-gaṇa in the political sense was a tribal oligarchy (or aristocracy) in which sovereignty was vested in a smaller body of *gaṇa-mukhyas* (cabinet ?) who were usually of the Kshatriya order and who were probably responsible to the general assembly of the *saṅgha* or *gaṇa.*[11]

In some of the *gaṇas*, the tribal chief or chiefs probably assumed royal title. Thus the coin-legends of the Audumbaras, Kulūtas, Kuṇindas, Vaimakis and probably also the Vṛishṇis refer to their respective tribal chief as *rājan* or *mahārāja.* This may not necessarily indicate that these tribes had monarchical constitution in the true sense of the term. For the Bijaygarh inscription of a Yaudheya *Mahārāja Mahāsenāpati* who was elected as such by the Yaudheya *gaṇa* (*Yaudheya-gaṇa-purashkṛitaḥ*)[12] testifies to the fact that the tribal chief of a *gaṇa* or a republic may also be entitled *Mahārāja* and that he was often elected by the *gaṇa.* In the case of such states sovereignty was really vested not in one individual, nor in a limited number of persons, but in the tribe or *gaṇa* as a whole. The Kshatriya leaders of such states, having inherited monarchical traditions, claimed and enjoyed the privilege of royal coronation and royal title.[13] Kauṭilya undoubtedly refers to this sort of republic or *saṅgha*, when he uses the term *rāja-śabd-opajīvinaḥ* with regard to the Lichchhavis, Vrijis, Madras and other tribes.[14] The Audumbaras, Kulūtas, Kuṇindas, Vaimakis and Vṛishṇis also might have had this sort of *gaṇa*, although the word *gaṇa* does not occur in their coin-legends, as in the case of the Yaudheyas or the Mālavas. For, these tribes are known from literary texts as republican peoples. They may be termed as *rājaśabdin* republics of Kauṭilya or 'King Consul' republics, as called by Jayaswal.[15]

In their technical sense, *janapada* and *nigama* respectively mean 'the country' or 'the whole area of a kingdom' composed of villages and towns (minus the capital), and 'association of the

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11 Cf. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 149; Jayaswal, *HP*, Part I, pp. 26-28, 125; R. C. Majumdar, *CLAI*,[2] p. 265; and U. N. Ghoshal, *Ind. Cult.*, XII, pp. 61 ff.

12 *CII*, III, p. 251.

13 Cf. A.S. Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, pp. 113-14.

14 *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, ed. by R. Shama Sastry, 1919 (Mysore), Ch. XI.

15 Cf. *HP*, Part I, p. 57 and p. 82 and n. 1.

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city-merchants.'[16] In contradistinction to the expression *gaṇa*, these terms do not actually signify the form of the government, but since we find coins issued in the names of the *janapadas* (i.e. the countries of the particular tribes), such as those of the Agratyas (Agāchas), Rājanyas, Trigartas, Vaimakis and Śibis, or *nigamas* (i.e. market-towns), such as those of the Taxila region,[17] and not in the names of respective rulers, we may probably hold that the concerned *janapadas* and *nigamas* enjoyed some sort of collective sovereignty and hence constituted political bodies, in which actual government rested, and which consisted of representative members. These may be termed as *jānapada* and *naigama* states, having a sort of representative system of democracy, the former relating to a country and the latter to a town.[18] That the term *janapada* actually stood for a democratic form of government appears to be supported by the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* passage (VII. 3. 14), which ascribes a *Vairājya* constitution to some of the *janapadas* of the Himalayan region, viz. the Uttara Kurus, the Uttara Madras, etc.[19] "To this word (*Vairājya*)", says M. Haug, "two meanings can be given : 1) without king ; 2) a very distinguished king. In this passage we must take it in the first meaning ; for here are the *Janapadāḥ*, i.e., people in opposition to the king mentioned as *abhishikta i.e.*, anointed, whilst in all other passages of this chapter, we find instead of them, the *rājānaḥ* or kings."[20] The actual constitution is not, however, indicated by the term *janapada*, and, as pointed out by U.N. Ghoshal, it may well represent a *gaṇa* type of government.[21] The case of the Vaimakis may probably be cited here as an example. While the earlier coins of the Vaimakis were issued in the name of the 'Vemaki *janapada*', their later issues were struck in the name of '*Rājan* Vaimaki Rudravarman' who was apparently the tribal chief. The Vemaki

16 Ibid., Part II, pp. 62 and 78.

17 For the *Negamā* coins of Taxila, see *BMC(AI)*, pp. cxxv ff. and 214 ff. and Ch. III above. The other city coins are probably also of this nature.

18 Cf. *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, pp. 172-76 ; *HP*, Part I, p. 135, and Part II, pp. 65, 67, 78-79 and 100-101.

19 Cf. Jayaswal, *HP*, Part I, p. 92 ; and R.C. Majumdar, *CLAI*,[2] p. 219.

20 *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, Vol. II, p. 518, note, as quoted in *HP*, Part I, p. 92, n. 3.

21 *Ind. Cult.*, XII, p. 63.

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janapada, therefore, seems to have had a *rāja-śabdin* type of *gaṇa* government.

The Punjab republics may be classified into three main groups, according to their coin-legends :—

1. States which are referred to as *gaṇa* in their coin-legends, such as the Yaudheya *gaṇa*.

2. The so-called *rāja-śabdin* type of states whose coin-legends refer to the respective tribes as well as their chiefs entitled *rājan* or *mahārāja*, such as those of the Audumbaras, Kulūtas, Kuṇindas, and Vaimakis. The Madras, who are known only from the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, also belonged to this group according to Kauṭilya.

3. The states referred to as *janapadas* in their coin-legends, viz. those of the Agratyas (Agāchas), Rājanyas, Trigartas, and Vaimakis (of the earlier period).

D.C. Sircar thinks that coins bearing the issuers' names became populār in India after the advent of the Indo-Greeks, hence most of these tribal issues "should preferably be assigned to a date later than the early decades of the second century B.C."[22] This date is, however, also supported by what we know about the contemporary history of the Punjab. For, as we have seen above (Ch. I), Pushyamitra most probably pushed his conquests upto the Indus beyond Śākala, where Menander is known to have ruled, presumably after the former. The Punjab states, therefore, are not likely to have risen to power before the end of Menander's rule, sometime about the third quarter of the second century B. C.[23]

As a result of long association with the neighbouring foreign powers, the tribal states of the Punjab reveal a good deal of foreign influence on their coinages. The degree of such influence affords us a clue to their chronology. The Kharoshṭhī script was in general use in the north-western parts of India, while Brāhmī was used in other parts of the country. The Punjab states, viz., the Audumbara, Kulūta, Kuṇinda, Rājanya, Trigarta, Vemaki and Vṛishṇi republics, being situated on the border of the two areas where these two ancient alphabets prevailed, used both

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22 *AIU*, p. 159.

23 Tarn places Menander about 160-145 B.C. (*GBI*, pp. 133-34), while Narain ascribes his date to about 155-30 B.C. (*IG*, p. 77).

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of them in their coin-legends. As pointed out by Rapson, in the bi-scriptual coins, while the Brāhmī legend remained all through complete, the Kharoshṭhī legend gradually tended to be shortened and finally vanished altogether.[24] For instance, on the early issues of the Kulūtas and the Kuṇindas, both the Kharoshṭhī and the Brāhmī legends are full;[25] but on a coin of Kaulūta Vīrayaśas (ascribed to about 100 A.D.) only *raña* of the Kharoshṭhī legend is seen,[26] while on the *Chhatreśvara* type of the Kuṇinda coins (of about the second or third century A.D.) the Kharoshṭhī legend is altogether omitted.[27] This shows that by the end of the second century A.D. Kharoshṭhī fell completely into disuse.[28]

Foreign influence is also noticed in the use of silver as a coining metal by the Punjab states. For, the few silver coins known of the indigenous states were issued by the Audumbara, Kulūta, Kuṇinda, Vemaki, Vṛishṇi and Yaudheya republics, which were situated in the eastern Punjab on the border of the Indo-Greek dominions. Allan's remark on the silver coins of the Kuṇindas that they "represent an attempt of an Indian ruler to issue a native silver coinage which would compete in the market with the later Indo-Greek silver"[29] is applicable to all the silver coins of the Punjab republics. These were presumably issued in the same general period, towards the end of Indo-Greek rule, i.e. in the first century B.C. This is also supported by the discovery, at Jwālāmukhī near Kangra, of five silver coins of Audumbara Dharaghosha, Kuṇinda Amoghabhūti and Vaimaki Rudravarman in association with twenty-seven silver coins of the later Indo-Greek prince Apollodotus II.[30]

Not only the script and metal, but also the weight-standard and even the devices were often adopted from the foreign coins.

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24 *JRAS* 1900, p. 538.

25 Cf. *Taxila*, II, p. 820, Nos. 252-57 (Kulūta) and *BMC(AI)*, p. 159, Pl. XXII. 1 (Kuṇinda).

26 *BMC(AI)*, p. 158, Pl. XVI. 4.

27 Ibid., p. 167, Pl. XXIII. 12.

28 It may also be pointed out that the Kharoshṭhī legend disappears from the coins of the Kushāṇa kings from Kaṇishka downwards.

29 *BMC(AI)*, pp. cii-iii.

30 *NC* 1873, p. 210.

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Thus all the silver coins of the tribal states were struck on the 20-rati or 36-grain standard of the bilingual Indo-Greek drachm.[31] The Viśvāmitra type of Audumbara Dharaghosha is a close copy of the Herakles type of Lysias and Theophilus.[32]

31 See A.N. Lahiri, *Journal of Ancient Indian History* (University of Calcutta), Vol. I, pp 57 and 61. The unique silver coin of Kulūta Vīrayaśas was however struck on the otherwise unknown 40-rati didrachm standard : cf. *BMC(AI)*, pp. c and 158, Pl. XVI. 4.

32 Ibid., p. lxxxiv ; cf. the types of Dharaghosha, ibid., p. 124, Pl. XIV. 14, and Lysias, *PMC*, p. 30, Pl. III. 150 and Theophilus, ibid., p. 87, Pl. IX. VIII.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE YAUDHEYA GAṆA

The forms Yodheya and Yaudheya are derived from Yodha and signify 'a warrior.'[1] The Yaudheyas claimed descent from Yaudheya, a son of Yudhishṭhira by his wife Devikā, daughter of Govasana of the Śaibya tribe.[2]

The Yaudheyas, as their name signifies, were noted for their martial qualities. They are mentioned along with the Trigartas and others amongst the *Āyudhajīvin Saṅghas* in Pāṇini and the commentary.[3] In the *Mahābhārata* they appear together with the other known Punjab tribes, viz. the Ambashṭhas, Madrakas and Trigartas, as well as the Mālavas and Śibis[4] who were probably then dwelling in the Punjab. According to the *Harivaṁśa* and the Purāṇas, they were descended from Uśīnara.[5] Alexander's historians mention a great republican territory on the Beas which was "exceedingly fertile and the inhabitants were good agriculturists, brave in war and living under an excellent system of internal government; for the multitude was governed by the aristocracy, who exercised their authority with justice and moderation."[6] Jayaswal identifies this unnamed state with the Yaudheya republic on the evidence of the find-spots of the Yaudheya coins.[7] According to Cunningham, the Yaudheyas were the Sambracoe of Curtius, Sabagrae of Orosius, and Adraistoe of Arrian.[8] Varāhamihira puts them in the northern division of India along with the Rājanyas, Trigartas, Ārjunāyanas and other peoples of the north.[9]

Cunningham identifies the Yaudheyas with the modern

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1 *AIU*, p. 165.

2 *CASR*, XIV, p. 140.

3 Pāṇini, V. 3. 116-17 and IV. 1. 178; cf. *BMC(AI)*, p. cxxxix, notes 3 and 4 and *HP*, Part I, p. 35, notes 2 and 4.

4 Cf. *QJMS*, XXV, p. 114.

5 Ibid.

6 Arrian, Bk. V. 25. Cf. *HP*, Part I, p. 66 and p. 67, n. 1.

7 *HP*, Part I, p. 67.

8 *CASR*, XIV, p. 142.

9 *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, XIV. 28 and XVI. 22, Kern's edn., pp. 92 and 103.

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Johiyas who occupy both banks of the Sutlej along the Bahawalpur frontier, called Johiya-bar after them, and believes that Mount Judh of the Salt Range may have derived its name from them. He also thinks that in ancient times their territory must have extended much further to the north and east, as their coins are found in the eastern Punjab, and all over the country between the Sutlej and the Jumna rivers.[10] Two large hoards of Yaudheya coins were discovered at Sonpath (Sonpat) between Delhi and Karnal.[11] Behat, an ancient site near Saharanpur, yielded large number of their coins along with some Kuṇinda pieces.[12] A hoard of 164 Yaudheya coins was discovered in 1936 in the Dehra Dun District.[13] Yaudheya coin-moulds were found at the Khokra-kot mound in Rohtak and at Sunet in Ludhiana, which mark two great mint-sites of the Yaudheyas.[14] Many other finds are also recorded.[15]

The evidence of the provenance of coins regarding the location of the Yaudheyas is supported by epigraphical sources. For, the Junāgarh inscription of Rudradāman, which refers to the military power of the Yaudheyas and their encounter with the great Śaka Satrap Rudradāman,[16] the Bijaygarh inscription of a *Mahārāja Mahāsenāpati* who was elected leader of the Yaudheya republic,[17] and the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta referring to the Yaudheyas as one of the frontier tribes, in association with the Mālavas and the Ārjunāyanas—[18] all go to testify to the extension of the Yaudheya territory towards the south and the east.

The find-spots of coins and coin-moulds coupled with the evidence of inscriptions "seem to indicate that the Yaudheya territory comprised an area that may be roughly defined as being

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10 *CASR*, XIV, p. 140 and *CAI*, pp. 75-76.

11 *CAI*, p. 76. For another hoard from Sonpath see *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 138

12 *JASB* 1834, Pl. XVIII ; ibid., 1835, Pl. XXXIV ; Prinsep's *Essays*, Pls. IV. and XIV.

13 *JBORS*, XXIII, pp. 148-49 ; *JNSI*, II, pp. 109 ff.

14 *PASB* 1884, pp. 137 ff. ; *Current Science* 1936, pp. 796 ff. ; ibid., 1941, pp. 65 f. For another big hoard from Jaijaivanti near Rohtak see *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 138.

15 See *BMC(AI)*, p. cli.

16 *SI*, p. 172, l. 12.

17 *CII*, III, p. 251 ; *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 8.

18 *SI*, p. 258, l. 22.

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bounded on the west by a line from Bhawalpur along the Satlej and the Beas up to Kangra, on the north-east by a straight line drawn from Kangra to Shaharanpur, on the east by a line drawn from Shaharanpur *via* Panipath and Sonpath to Bharatpur, and on the south by a line drawn from Bhawalpur *via* Suratgarh, Bhatner and Sirsa, to Bharatpur."[19] The area thus indicated shows that the Yaudheyas were the most powerful of the Punjab tribes. But we shall see that they did not occupy that area at one and the same time.

The coinage of the Yaudheyas has been classified by Allan into three main groups—Classes I, II and V of *BMC(AI)* forming one group, Classes III and IV forming another, and Class VI forming the third.[20] Class I consists of a series of small coins of copper and potin, which are generally uninscribed, except for one variety bearing the legend *Mahārājasa* in Brāhmī.[21] These coins are attributed to the Yaudheyas as they are connected by their metal, fabric and provenance with the coins of Class II bearing the name of the tribe.[22] The obverse of the coins of Class II depicts a bull standing before a *yūpa* or a sacrificial post (S 64), with the marginal legend, *Yaudheyanāṁ Bahudhañake* (i.e. 'Bahudhānyaka of the Yaudheyas' or 'at Bahudhānyaka of the Yaudheyas'), while the reverse shows an elephant to right with a *nandipada* above and a flying pennon behind it.[23] The discovery of clay-moulds of these coins at Rohtak has laid aside all doubts as to the correct reading of the legend which was earlier given differently by different scholars.[24] A coin of this class picked up at Baghaula bears the legend *Yaudheyānām* only.[25] Another small

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19 *CLAI,*[2] p. 271.

20 *BMC(AI)*, pp. clii-iii.

21 Ibid., pp. 265-66, Nos. 1-15 ; for the coin with the legend *Mahārājasa* see ibid., p. 266, Pl. XXXIX. 10.

22 Ibid., p. cxlvii.

23 Ibid., pp. 267-70, No. 16 46.

24 The reading was earlier given as *Kṛipudhanaba* by Rodgers (*PMC*, i, Part III, p. 136, n. 2), *Bhūpadhanusha* by Smith (*IMC*, p. 131, n. 1), *Bhūmidhanusha* by Cunningham (*CASR*, XIV, p. 141) and *Bahudhañake* by Rapson (*JRAS* 1900, p. 107, n. 1) ; Rapson's reading has been proved to be the correct one. Jayaswal read the legends of the coin-moulds (*JBORS*, XXII, pp. 59 ff.).

25 *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 101-02. Naurangabad near Rohtak which has yielded some coins and clay-moulds, one of which bears the device of a bull and the legend,

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square copper coin with a bull to right has also this legend and constituted the Class V of *BMC(AI)*.[26]

Class III consists of a unique silver coin and an extensive series of copper coins of the same type, closely connected in style and type with the Kuṇinda coins.[27] On the obverse of the silver coin is found the figure of six-headed Kārttikeya and on the reverse that of a goddess, identified as Shashṭhī, also called Devasenā, the consort of Skanda or Kārttikeya, according to the *Mahābhārata*.[28] The goddess stands facing on a lotus between a six-tiered mountain surmounted by *nandipada*, and tree-in-railing. The Brāhmī legend on the obverse reads *Bhagavataḥ Svāmino Brahmaṇyasya* (or *Brahmaṇyasa*) *Ɣaudheyasya* (or *Ɣaudheyasa*).[29] The legend on the silver piece has enabled us to attribute the extensive series of copper coins of the same type without the name of the tribe. The legend on these coins is *Bhagavataḥ Svāmino Brahmaṇyadevasya* (or °*devasa*) *Kumārasya* (or *Kumārasa*).[30] To the already existing varieties of this type have been added a number of other varieties from the Dehra Dun hoard.[31] A coin of the same module as that of the coins of Class III and found

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Ɣaudheyān[*ām*], was probably another mint-town of this period (cf. *JNSI*, XXVII, p. 86). A terra-cotta seal with the legend, *Ɣaudheya janapada* has also been discovered from Naurangabad (see ibid., XXVIII, p. 200).

26 *BMC(AI)*, p. 275, Pl XLIV. 27.

27 Ibid., pp. cxlix and pp. 270-75, Nos. 47-79. For the silver coin see ibid., Pl. XXXIX. 21.

28 According to Allan, the goddess is Lakshmi [see *BMC(AI)*, p. cxlix], and according to V.S. Agrawala, she is Devasenā or Shashṭhī (*JNSI*, V, p. 29). On some coins she appears to be six-headed (cf. *IMC*, p. 181, No. 8 Pl. XXI. 15 and *JNSI*, II, p. 110, Pl X. 8-9), but J.N. Banerjea thinks that she is not actually six-headed but her aureole round the head gives this illusion (see *DHI*,[2] p. 141). R.C. Agrawala refers to some copper coins in the Gurukul Museum at Jhajjar (Rohtak District) depicting six-headed Skanda in an unusual way He also points out that the custom of substituting more heads is known in Mathurā sculptures after the second century A D. (*JNSI*, XXVIII, pp. 200 ff.). Again, Deenabandhu Pandey points out that the six-headed goddess on the reverse which is a combined form of six Kṛittikās is associated with Kārttikeya in the form of Brhmaṇyadeva or Kumāra, and is later on identified with Lakshmi, Shashṭhi and Devasenā (ibid., XXIX, pp. 5 ff.).

29 Allan's reading of the legend as *Bhāgavata-svāmino Brahmaṇya* (*sa* or *sya*)-*Ɣaudheya* is corrected by J.N. Banerjea in *JNSI*, XII, pp. 160 ff.

30 J.N. Banerjea has likewise corrected the legend on copper coins (see ibid.).

31 See *JNSI*, II, pp. 109 ff. On one variety of the coins of Class III (var. h) the word *darma* appears above the deer (*BMC, AI*, p. 275, Pl. XL. 12), the significance of which has been discussed below (p. 207).

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along with them constitutes the Class IV of *BMC(AI)*. It has an incomplete legend, *Bhānuva[rmasa ?]* between a mountain and a *svastika* above and a snake below.[32] The reverse has a trident and a standard, each in a railing.

Class VI consists of a series of well-executed round copper coins with distinct Kushāṇa influence in style and type.[33] The obverse bears the figure of Kārttikeya with his peacock and the reverse that of Lakshmī standing in an attitude recalling that of Helios, Mithra or Mao on the Kushāṇa coins. The legend on these coins is *Yaudheyagaṇasya jaya*, with the addition of *dvi* or *tri* at the end of the legend on two varieties.[34]

The three groups of Yaudheya coins belong to three different periods of their history, "Classes 1, 2, and 5 [i.e. Group I] of the late second and first centuries B.C. indicating a period of independence, from the fall of the Mauryas to the coming of the Kushāns. Classes 3-4 [i.e. Group II] belong to the later second century A.D., and the poor state of the currency probably reflects the disastrous effects of Rudradāman's victory and the war with the Śakas. The fine coins of Class 6 [i.e. Group III], which ..... reveals strong Kushān influence, show the tribe well established again in the third and early fourth centuries A. D. Their currency came to an end with the Gupta conquest."[35]

The literary references to the Yaudheyas testify to the existence of the tribe as early as the fifth century B.C. (the time of Pāṇini). Their political career, however, seems to have begun about the latter half of the second century B.C., after the rule of Menander in the eastern Punjab, when the first period of their history begins. The legend of the earliest Yaudheya coins (Class II) indicates that the Yaudheya republic had its headquarters at Bahudhānyaka during that time. In the *Mahābhārata* the country of Rohītaka is divided into Maru and Bahudhānyaka, the latter of which is also mentioned as a territory conquered by

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32 *BMC(AI)*, pp. cl and 275, Pl. XL. 15. 25 more coins with this legend have been discovered : cf. *JNSI*, XVIII, pp. 46-47. For a suggested attribution of these coins see p. 193 above.

33 Ibid., p. cl and 276 ff., Nos. 82-105.

34 Ibid., p. 277, Pl. XL. 5 (*dvi*) and 278, Pl. XL. 7 (*tri*).

35 Ibid., pp. clii-iii.

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Nakula in the west.[36] Bahudhānyaka signifies 'rich in corn' and as it is contrasted with Maru, it appears to be the name of an unusually fertile part of the Punjab in the possession of the Yaudheyas and may be located at Rohtak where the coin-moulds of the Bahudhānyaka mint were found. The Yaudheya territory of this period seems also to have included Behat in Saharanpur where Captain Cautley found a large number of coins of this class. The absence of the name Bahudhānyaka on the coin from Baghaula in the Gurgaon District and on the square piece of Class V shows that there were probably other mints of the Yaudheyas apart from Bahudhānyaka. We may conclude then that the Yaudheyas in the second and first centuries B.C. occupied the southern portion of the Punjab comprising Gurgaon, Rohtak, and Karnal, and the adjoininig territories including Saharanpur.

The second stage of their history begins with the advent of the Kushāṇas in the first century A.D. and it was a period of hard struggle with the foreigners. Since the vast tract of land lying from Kabul in the north-west to Banaras in the east lay under Kushāṇa suzerainty during the reign of Kaṇishka I, it is highly probable that the Yaudheyas (whose territory lay in the eastern Punjab) had to obey the supremacy of the Kushāṇas, at least of Kaṇishka.

Whatever might have been the position of the Yaudheyas during the early Kushāṇa rule, they soon appear to have emerged as a mighty power, and, by the middle of the second century A.D., we see them fighting with the great Śaka Satrap Rudradāman who describes them as loath to submit, "rendered proud as they were, by having manifested their title of heroes among all *kshatriyas*."[37] This shows that the Yaudheyas survived the onslaughts of the Kushāṇas, and grew in power, so much so that they were regarded as the best of the *kshatriyas* in the second century A.D.

Their encounter with Rudradāman probably also indicates that the pressure of Kushāṇa power in the north drove them southwards so that their southern boundary extended upto

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36 Cf. *JBORS*, XXII, pp. 59 ff.

37 *Sarvva-kshatr-āvishkrita-vira-śabda-jāt-otsek-āvidheyānāṁ Yaudheyānāṁ*: see *SI*, p. 172, ll. 11-12 and *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 44.

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the borders of Rudradāman's dominions. The evidence of the southward expanison of the Yaudheya territory is borne also by the second century inscription from Bijaygarh, two miles to the south-west of Bayana in the Bharatpur District, which refers to a *Mahārāja Mahāsenāpati*, elected leader of the Yaudheya *gaṇa*.

That the Yaudheyas were in possession of their ancient stronghold of Rohtak at least upto the second century A.D. is suggested by archaeological evidence. For, an examination of some surface finds by K.N. Dikshit "indicated that Khokra-kot (Rohtak) was in occupation upto the Kushāṇa period when it was partially abandoned, only the southern part where Rohtak now stands, remaining populated."[38] Thus, a large portion of northern Rajasthan, the eastern Punjab and the adjoining areas of U.P., i.e. the vast tract extending from Bahawalpur to Bijaygarh in Bharatpur District, including Rohtak and Saharnpur, probably lay under the Yaudheya republic in the early centuries of the Christian era.

But inspite of their resistance, they had ultimately to submit to the Śaka Satrap, as the Junāgarh inscription shows. Their encounter with the Śakas is also reflected on their coinage of this period (Class III of *BMC,AI*). For, the title *svāmi* as applied to Brhmaṇyadeva on these coins is characteristic of the Western Satraps. Again, the word *darma* occurring on a variety of these coins (var. h) seems to stand for *dramma*, the Indianised form of drachm which was the standard silver currency of the Western Satraps who imitated the coins of the Indo-Greeks. The term *darma*, here applied to a copper coin as it is, appears to have been used in the broader sense of a coin.[39] The disastrous effects of Rudradaman's victory over the Yaudheyas is probably reflected on the poor state of the contemporary coins, which 'are of very rough workmanship and have very fragmentary legends,'[40] and which indicate that the Yaudheyas were passing through a critical political condition. In their times of difficulty,

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38 *TCCAI*, p. 17. That Rohtak continued to be the stronghold of the Yaudheyas even in the third-fourth centuries is suggested by two large finds of Yaudheya coins of Class VI with the legend *Yaudheyu-gaṇasya jayaḥ* from Jaijaivanti and Sonpath near Rohtak : cf. *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 138.

39 Cf. S K. Chakrabortty, *SAIN*, p. 223.

40 *BMC (AI)*, pp. cl and cliii.

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the Yaudheyas seem to have evoked the help of their presiding deity Brahmaṇyadeva or Kārttikeya, in whose name their coins of this period were issued, and to whom they probably dedicated their state.

Brahmaṇyadeva or Kārttikeya, 'the presiding deity of Heroism and War', seems to have had a special appeal to the war-like tribe of the Yaudheyas. And Rohītaka (i.e. Rohtak) was the specially favoured residence of god Kārttikeya, according to the *Mahābhārata* which calls its people *Mattamayūrakas*, apparently identical with the Yaudheyas of Bahudhānyaka (modern Rohtak).[41] The Yaudheya coins of Class VI also bear the figure of Kārttikeya.

Their southward expansion having received a severe set-back at the success of Rudradāman, the Yaudheyas probably retired in the north in the hilly regions of the Himalayas, as indicated from the Dehra Dun hoard of 164 copper coins of this period bearing the name of Brahmaṇyadeva. To the north they became the southern neighbours of the Kuṇindas of the Beas valley and the Garhwal District. This is also indicated by the close similarity of the Yaudheya coins of this period with the Kuṇinda coins bearing the name of Amoghabhūti.[42]

After their defeat in the hands of Rudradāman, the Yaudheyas waited only for an opportunity to re-assert their power, which was not long to come. The death of Rudradaman's son and successor Dāmajada I was followed by a civil war in the Śaka kingdom[43] which greatly undermined the power and prestige of the Śakas. The Kushāṇa empire also showed signs of gradual decay after the death of Vāsudeva I about 180 A.D.[44] No coins or inscriptions of his successors are found anywhere to the east of the Sutlej, which fact shows that they lost sovereignty over this area. On the other hand, Yaudheya coins of the third and fourth centuries A.D. [Class VI of *BMC(AI)*] are found all over the territory from the Sutlej to the Jumna. It appears, therefore, that the Yaudheyas took advantage of the weakness of

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41 Cf. *TCCAI*, pp. 14-15.

42 Cf. the 'mountain symbol' and the 'tree-in-railing' on the Yaudheya coins of Class III [*BMC(AI)*, p. 270, Pl. XXXIX. 21] and those on the Kuṇinda coins bearing the name of Amoghabhūti (ibid., p. 159, PL. XXII. 1).

43 *NHIP*, VI, pp. 48-49 ; also *AIU*, p. 186.

44 Cf. *AIU*, p. 151.

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the Śaka and Kushāṇa powers about the end of the second century A.D. and gradually extended their territories towards the Sutlej in the north-west.

Their head-quarters at this period appear to be at Sunet near Ludhiana. For, A.F.R. Hoernle discovered 'in and near the village of Sonait' (i.e. Sunet) three negative clay-seals or moulds for the Yaudheya coins of the post-Kushāṇa period [Class VI of *BMC(AI)*], and one very large clay-seal with the inscription—*Yaudheyānāṁ jaya-maṁtra-dharāṇāṁ* ['(the votive tablet) of the Yaudheyas who know how to device victory'] in characters of about the third century A.D.[45] After Hoernle's discovery, 38 coin-moulds of the same nature were found at Sunet.[46] Soon afterwards, another 41 moulds of identical description, and also coming from Sunet, were received by the Indian Museum.[47] Thus, at least 82 coin-moulds of this type have so far been discovered—all from Sunet. It is apparent therefore that just as Rohtak was the mint-town for the Yaudheyas of Bahudhānyaka, Sunet marks the site of another mint-town of the Yaudheyas of a later period. And as these moulds are for coins generally assigned to the third and fourth centuries A.D., Sunet was probably the head-quarters of the Yaudheyas at that time. The antiquity of Sunet goes back much further. V.S. Agrawala traces the history of Sunet up to about 500 B.C. He thinks that the modern village of Sunet was formerly known as Saunetra and it probably marks the location of an ancient city, founded by Sunetra who is mentioned by Pāṇini and who, according to the *Mahābhārata*, was one of the three sons of Dhṛitarāshṭra (I).[48]

The re-assertion of the powers of the Yaudheyas after hard struggle with the foreigners, viz. the Śakas and the Kushāṇas, greatly increased their prestige in the post-Kushāṇa period. Already regarded as the best of the Kshatriyas, they were now believed to be in possession of a 'victory-charm', as implied by the

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45 *PASB* 1884, pp. 137 ff. Jai Prakash, however, thinks that *maṁtra-dhara* refers to the '*mantriparishad*', and interprets the legend as "[seal] of the upholders of the '*maṁtra*' (or the secret) of victory of the Yaudheyas" : *JNSI*, XXVII, p. 137.

46 *Current Science*, 1941, pp. 65 f.

47 Ibid , p. 66.

48 *JNSI*, IV, pp. 47 f.

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above-mentioned clay-seal from Ludhiana, bearing the legend : *Yaudheyānāṁ jaya-maṁtra-dharāṇām.* The legend of the Yaudheya coins of the post-Kushāṇa period also proclaims the victory of their republic : *Yaudheya-gaṇasya jayaḥ.*[49] That these coins replaced the Kushāna issues and were current in the same districts is suggested by the distinct Kushāṇa influence on their style, type and metrology. The figure of Kārttikeya, the presiding diety of the Yaudheyas, again, occupies the obverse of these coins.

As already noted, on two varieties of the Yaudheya coins of Class VI the word *dvi* or *tri* appears at the end of the legend. It is accepted by scholars that these words stand respectively for *dvitīya* and *tṛitīya*, indicating thereby the second and third sections of the Yaudheya tribe, which appears therefore to have been consisted of three sections ;[50] but their identification is still a matter of surmise.

Cunningham observes that the Yaudheyas were a powerful nation, without any king, but under the command of three military leaders, which suggests the probability that they were divided into 'three tribes', each led by its own chief.[51] The present-day Johiyas are also divided into three tribes, viz. Langavira (Lakvira), Mādhovira (Madhera) and Adamvira (Admera).[52] The similarity of the name Adamvira with Audumbara tempts us to identify the Adamviras with the ancient Audumbaras, the northern neighbours of the Yaudheyas. If we accept this identification, we have to assume that the Audumbaras whose coinage of the post-Kushāna period is not known, might have coalesced with the Yaudheyas, and thus were one of the three sections of the Yaudheya confederation, referred to in the coin-legends. The other two sections cannot, however, be identified.

Again, Altekar holds that the Yaudheyas received valuable support and co-operation in their fight for independence from two

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49 Jai Prakash also interprets the legend *Yaudheya-gaṇasya jayaḥ* in a different way. According to him, it does not proclaim the victory of the Yaudheya republic, but is simply a benedictory formula signifying 'Let the Yaudheyas be victorious' : *JNSI*, XXVII, p. 136.

50 Cf. Cunningham, *CASR*, XIV, pp. 141-42 ; Jayaswal, *HP*, Part I, p. 150 ; S.K. Chakrabortty, *NS*, XLVI, p. N 93 ; Allan, *BMC(AI)*, p. cli.

51 *CASR*, XIV, p. 142.

52 *AIU*, p. 167 ; cf. also ibid., p. 162,n.

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other tribes, viz. the Kuṇindas and the Ārjunāyanas, who respectively lived to the north-east and the south-east of their territory, and who regained independence in the post-Kushāṇa period along with the Yaudheyas. And as Kuṇinda coins later than the third century A.D. and Ārjunāyana coins of the post-Kushāṇa period are not known, Altekar thinks that these two tribal states merged with the Yaudheya *gaṇa* which thus became a confederation of three republics.[53] If this suggestion is accepted, the words *dvi* and *tri* on the Yaudheya coins would appear to refer to the Ārjunāyanas and the Kuṇindas as the second and third members of the Yaudheya confederacy. But the Kuṇindas whose coins of the second or third century A.D. are known, seem to have regained their independence in the post-Kushāṇa period as a separate political entity. It is, therefore, not likely that later on they merged with the Yaudheyas of their own accord ; on the contrary, they might have been overpowered and their territory annexed by their more powerful neighbours, the Yaudheyas. This may account for the absence of their coins for the period later than the third century A.D., as well as for the fact that they are not mentioned amongst the north-western frontier tribes in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. Again, the mention of the Ārjunāyanas side by side with the Yaudheyas in the same inscription indicates that the Ārjunāyanas did not lose their political independence to the Yaudheyas. We do not know why the Ārjunāyanas did not strike coins during this period, but it may be pointed out that the Madras and many other tribes who are also mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription are not known to have issued any coin at all.

Altekar has also pointed out that according to the *Mahābhārata* (Śāntiparvan, Ch. 21), the Yaudheyas had three centres, viz., Rohītaka, Marubhūmi and Śirīshika.[54] If so, it is not unlikely that the words *dvi* and *tri* on the Yaudheya coins refer to these centres, and we may try to identify them. Rohītaka seems in all probability to be Rohtak where Yaudheya coin-moulds of the Bahudhānyaka mint were found. As we have already seen, some other coins of the same period (of Classes I and V) are known,

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53 *JUPHS*, XVI, pp. 55-56.
54 *JNSI*, XI, pp. 52.

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which do not bear the name Bahudhānyaka, and this fact indicates that there were probably other centres of the Yaudheyas apart from Bahudhānyaka (Rohtak or Rohītaka). Marubhūmi probably represents the adjacent parts of the deserts of northern Rajasthan (N. Bikaner and Bahawalpur region ?) that might have been included in the Yaudheya territory. Śirīshika is difficult to locate, but it is tempting to identify it with Sunet (near Ludhiana) which is also a prolific site for Yaudheya coin-moulds. Since, however, the find-spots of the coins marked *dvi* and *tri* are not duly noted, we cannot be sure of these identifications at present.[55] It is also remarkable that the coins marked *dvi* have a *kalasa*, and those marked *tri* have a *śaṅkha*, by the side of the goddess on the reverse as their distinctive symbols, while those without these words bear no such symbol. It thus appears probable that the three series of coins—represent the issues of three different administrative units of the Yaudheya republic. But all these must remain conjectural for the time being, and the true interpretation of the terms *dvi* and *tri* should await further light.

On the basis of the find-spots of their coins, it has been held that the Yaudheyas were the largest republican tribe in ancient India and that they were chiefly responsible for the downfall of the Kushāṇa empire.[56] But this view may be only partially true ; for from the above survey of the Yaudheya history, we have seen that the Yaudheyas did not possess the wide region, suggested by the provenance of their coins and inscriptions, at one and the same time. Again, the decline and downfall of a vast empire like that of the Kushāṇas must have had some internal causes and cannot be ascribed mainly to a single outside agency like the Yaudheyas.[57] On the other hand, it is natural to think that the Yaudheyas, like many other contemporary tribes, took advantage of the internal weakness of the Kushāṇa empire, and hastened the process of its disintegration by re-asserting their power.

The Allahabad pillar inscription shows that the Yaudheyas enjoyed their regained independence at least upto the time of

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55 Out of the 54 coins coming from the Rohtak region with the legend *Yaudheya-gaṇasya jayaḥ*, 29 bear the letter *dvi* and 4, *tri* : *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 138.

56 Cf. Altekar, *JUPHS*, XVI, pp. 52 ff.

57 Cf. *AIU*, p. 168 and n. 1.

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Samudragupta, and retained in their possession the territory between the Sutlej and the Jumna—to the north of the dominions of the Mālavas and the Ārjunāyanas on the western border of the Gupta empire. The inscription also informs us that the Yaudheyas along with the other tribes became tributary to the Gupta empire, probably indicating thereby that they did not lose their internal autonomy. They might have continued their existence as a semi-independent power down to the middle of the fifth century A.D., when they appear to have been 'engulfed in the Hūṇa avalanche.' A later reference to the Yaudheyas is made in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, a work of the sixth century A.D.

We may conclude by saying a few words about the Yaudheya constitution, of which we get a few glimpses from literary and archaeological evidences. We get the earliest reference to the Yaudheyas in Pāṇini who enlists them amongst the *āyudhajīvin saṅghas*, as we have seen above. Jayaswal explains this expression as 'denoting those republics which considered military art as the vital principle of their constitution'.[58] Their name also implies that the Yaudheyas were a martial tribe, and according to Pāṇini, they had a *saṅgha* or republican form of government. As already noted, Alexander's historians refer to 'a great republic on the Beas', whose inhabitants were brave in war and good agriculturists. From Strabo, again, we know that, although the actual government of that republic was vested in an aristocracy, their parliament consisted of 5000 representatives.[59] If Jayaswal's identification of this unnamed republic with the Yaudheya *gaṇa* is correct, then the statement of Pāṇini that the warlike tribe of the Yaudheyas had a republican form of government is corroborated by Strabo.

The Purāṇas, however, ascribe a monarchical constitution to the Yaudheyas.[60] On the face of it, the Puranic statement is contrary to the tradition about the Yaudheya constitution. But it is possible, as suggested by Jayaswal, that the Purāṇas have here referred to the origin of the Yaudheyas when they had probably a monarchical form of government.[61] During the historical period, however, we see them as a republican tribe. According to Allan,

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58 *HP*, Part I, p. 37.

59 Strabo, XV. 37 ; cf. *HP*, Part I, p. 67 and n. 2.

60 Cf. *HP*, Part I, p. 74.

61 Ibid.

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a coin of Class I with the legend *Mahārājasa* 'shows that the Yaudheyas had a monarchical constitution until a fairly late date.'[62] But the occurrence of the word *mahārājasa* on it may not signify what Allan has supposed. For, on the evidence of the Bijaygarh inscription we know that even the 'elected leader of the Yaudheya *gaṇa*' was called a *Mahārāja*.[63] That the Yaudheyas had a republican form of government is sufficiently corroborated by the expression *gaṇa* occurring in the above-mentioned inscription as well as in the legend of their coins (Class VI) of the post-Kushāṇa period, which reads—*Ɣaudheya-gaṇasya jaya[ḥ*]*.

We may here refer to the Yaudheya coins bearing the name of their tutelary deity Brahmaṇyadeva [Class III of *BMC(AI)*] which reveal the existence of an interesting type of theocracy in ancient India. Smith thought that these coins were issued by a Yaudheya chief called Brahmaṇyadeva.[64] But, as Jayaswal has shown, the name Brahmaṇyadeva refers to Kārttikeya, 'the presiding deity of Heroism and War,' 'La Liberte' of the Yaudheyas.[65] In this type of theocracy, the state is dedicated to the presiding deity who is regarded as the ruler of the state. The Brahmaṇydeva coins of the Yaudheyas are paralleled by the 'Mahādeva' coin of the Vaimakis,[66] and the 'Chhatreśvara' coins of the Kuṇindas,[67] who, in like manner, seem to have dedicated their states to their respective tutelary deities Mahādeva and Chhatreśvara, both signifying Śiva. The Bhīṭā seal of Gauta-

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62 *BMC(AI)*, pp. cxlvii and 266, Pl. XXXIX. 10.

63 Cf. *Ɣaudheya=gaṇa-purashkṛitasya mahārāja-mahāsenāpateḥ*, etc., *CII*, II, p. 252. Cf. the Lichchhavi constitution which, although a *gaṇa-rājya*, provided for the assumption of the title *rājan* by the rulers (*HP*, p. 51). As we shall see below, some of the other contemporary tribal chiefs of the Punjab, viz. those of the Audumbaras, Kulūtas, Kuṇindas and Vaimakis also followed the practice of assuming royal titles. It is interesting to note that the Yaudheya chief referred to in the Bijayagarh inscription is not only a *Mahārāja* but also a *Mahāsenāpati*, probably indicating thereby the military character of the Yaudheya constitution, which seems to have combined the characteristics of the *saṁghas* termed as *āyudhajivin* in Pāṇini and as *śastr=opajivin* by Kauṭilya, as well as those of the *rājasabd=opajivin* republics of Kauṭilya.

64 *IMC*, p. 165.

65 *HP*, Part I, p. 150.

66 Cf. S. K. Chakrabortty, *NS*, XLVI, p. N 73; for the coin see *BMC(AI)*, p. 123, Pl XIV. 16; for its attribution to the Vaimakis, see Ch. IX, Sec 1 below.

67 *BMC(AI)*, p. 167, Pl. XXIII. 12.

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mīputra Vindhyavedhana Vṛishadhvaja 'who had made over his kingdom to the great Lord Kārttikeya' (according to Marshall's interpretation),[68] probably also indicates such a state of affairs.

68 *ASR* 1911-12, pp. 50-51, No. 25. See also Ch. V (Kauśāmbī) Sec. 1B above.

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CHAPTER IX

THE AUDUMBARAS, KULŪTAS, KUṆINDAS, MADRAS AND VṚISHṆIS

1. THE AUDUMBARAS

The Audumbaras are known from coins as well as from literary texts. The *Gaṇapāṭha* on Pāṇini mentions them along with the Rājanyas and locates them near the people of Jālandhara.[1] They are mentioned in the earlier list of the Punjab republics in the Sabhāparvan of the *Mahābhārata* (Ch. LII)[2]. The *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* couples them with the Kapisthalas,[3] while the *Vishṇupurāṇa* mentions them along with the Trigartas and Kulindas.[4] Varāhamihira also refers to them twice along with the Kapisthalas.[5] "They represented one of the six sections of the ancient Śālva tribe, the others being the Tilakhalas, Madrakāras (or Bhadrakāras, probably related with the Madras), Yugandharas, Bhuliṅgas and Śaradaṇḍas."[6] The 'Odeonbares' of Pliny, who are located in Kutch[7] cannot be the Audumbaras of our coins, although it is not unlikely that a section of the tribe migrated there. Donors of the Audumbara tribe are mentioned in the Sāñchī inscriptions.[8]

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1 On Pāṇini, IV. 2.53; cf. *HP*, Part I, p. 160, n. 2; and *BMC* (*AI*), p. lxxxvii.

2 Cf. *HP*, Part I, p. 160.

3 See *CASR*, XIV, p. 116. Cunningham refers to Ward's *Hindus*, Vol. III, p. 9. But in Pargiter's *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, p. 355, the Udumbaras are coupled with some peoples of the Madhyadeśa. Pargiter, however, places these Udumbaras in Kutch: cf. also n. 7 below. The Kapisthalas are identified with the 'Kambistholi' of Arrian by Cunningham who thinks that their name still survives in 'Kaithal' to the south of Ambala: *CAI*, p. 66.

4 See *CASR*, p. 116.

5 Ibid., *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, XIV. 4; cf. *Ind. Ant.*, XXII, p. 174.

6 Cf. *GAMI*, p. 21, n. 3, and *AIU*, p. 161, n. 4.

7 Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, V. 17: cf. *BMC*(*AI*), p. lxxxvii. The 'Mambaros' of the *Periplus* (see *CASR*, XIV, p. 117) and the 'Odomboeroe' of Ptolemy (see *NS*, XLVI, p. N. 70) probably refer to the Kutch branch of the Audumbaras. Jayaswal thinks that their descendants are found in 'the modern community of Gujarati Brahmins of the Audumbara Caste': *HP*, Part I, p. 161.

8 *MS*, I, pp. 318-19, 321, 365, Nos. 191, 194, 216, 650 and 652.

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Literary references point to a location of the Audumbaras supported by the find-spots of their coins which come from Pathankot, Jwalamukhi, Irippal and Hoshiarpur, i.e. from a well-defined area in the north-eastern Punjab.[9] The country of the Audumbaras, therefore, seems to have included the western part of the modern Kangra District, and the Gurdaspur and Hoshiarpur Districts, 'that is to say, the valley of the Beas, or perhaps the wider region between the upper Sutlej and the Ravi.'

Cunningham thinks that 'the name of *Odumbara*, or Audumbara, is derived from the *Udumbara* fig tree (Ficus glomerate)'.[10] He also points out that, according to Pāṇini, any country where the Udumbara tree flourishes may be called Audumbara and that is true of the Nurpur (or rather Gurdaspur) District in the Punjab, which abounds in fig-trees.[11] In his opinion, the old name of the district which is variously given as Dahmeri or Dahmberoi, of which the capital was Pathankot, is derived from Audumbara.[12] Rapson, however, expresses doubts about the identification of the name Udumbara with the later Damari or Dahmari.[13] Some connection is suggested between the Adamvira or Admera section of the Johiya Rajputs and the ancient Audumbaras.[14]

The Audumbara coins are grouped by Allan into three classes—(1) a series of square copper coins, (2) a few rare silver coins, and (3) a group of round copper and billon pieces.[15] The first two classes bear the name of the tribe, while the third does not bear it.

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9 Cf. *CASR*, XIV, p. 116 ; *CAI*, pp. 66-67 ; *IMC*, pp. 160-61 ; *NS*, XXIII, p. 247 ; and *BMC* (*AI*), p. lxxxvii.

10 *CAI*, p. 66.

11 *CASR*, XIV, p. 116. N. Dey also located the country of the Udumbaras in 'the district of Nurpur (or rather Gurudaspur)': *GDAMI*, p. 13. D. C. Sircar suggests that 'the Udumbara tree had some sort of totemic value with the Audumbaras as the Kadamba tree had with the Kadambas'.

12 *CASR*, XIV, p 116.

13 *JRAS* 1900, p. 540. He, however, suggests some connection of the name Dahmari with the form Ḍāmara occurring in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, XIV, 30 (ibid , p. 533).

14 *AIU*, pp. 161-62, n. 4.

15 *BMC* (*AI*), p. lxxxiii.

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The coins of Class I are distinctly Indian in type and style, and may be regarded as the earliest. They bear on the obverse[16] a tree-in-railing with the forepart of an elephant to left over a wavy line, and on the reverse a domed and a pillared building beside which stands a trident-battle-axe. The tree on the obverse has been identified by Cunningham with the Udumbara tree;[17] but, as the tree-device is quite common on early Indian coins, Allan doubts Cunningham's identification.[18] The building on the reverse has been variously described as a granary, a mote-hall and a two-storied *stūpa* by Smith, Jayaswal and Allan respectively.[19] Cunningham and R. D. Banerji have, however, described it as a temple,[20] and S. V. Sohoni has pointed out that such temples are common in the Kulu and the Beas valleys and that the presence of the trident-battle-axe indicates the Saivite nature of the temple.[21]

The coins bear identical but biscriptual legends, written in Kharoshṭhī on the obverse and Brāhmī on the reverse.[22] They represent the issues of Dharaghosha, Rudradāsa and Śivadāsa.[23] The respective legends, as restored by R. D. Banerji from fragmentary inscriptions of different specimens are as follows :-[24]

1. *Mahadevasa raña Dharaghoshasa Odu[ṁ]barisa.*
2. *Mahadevasa raña Rudradasasa Odu[ṁ]barisa.*
3. *Mahadevasa raña Sivadasasa Odu[ṁ]barisa.*

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16 We have here followed the order given by Allan as 'obverse' and 'reverse'. We feel, however, that the side bearing the Brāhmī legend should be regarded as 'obverse' and that bearing the Kharoshṭhī legend as 'reverse'.

17 *CASR*, XIV, p. 117; and *CAI*, p. 68.

18 *BMC* (*AI*), p. lxxxiii.

19 Smith, *JASB* 1897, p. 8; Jayaswal, *HP*, Part I, p. 161; and Allan, *BMC* (*AI*), p. lxxxiii.

20 Cunningham, *CAI*, p. 68 and R. D. Banerji, *NS*, XXIII, p. 249.

21 *JNSI*, IV, pp. 55 ff.

22 Cf. note 16 above.

23 See *BMC* (*AI*), p. 125, Pl. XIV. 15 (Dharaghosha), ibid., p. 122, Pl. XV. 2 (Rudradāsa), and ibid., Pl. XV. 1 (Śivadāsa).

24 R. D. Banerji, *NS*, XXIII, p. 249. Cf. also A. V. Bergney, *JRAS* 1900, p. 410, and Allan, *BMC*(*AI*), p. lxxxiv. For the occurrence of *guṇa* for *vṛiddhi* in the form *Oduṁbari* for *Audumbari*, see Rapson, *JRAS* 1900, p. 429 and n. 2.

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To this list of Audumbara rulers Allan adds the name of a Mahādeva, by restoring the fragmentary legends of some coins as *Mahadevasa raña Odu[ṁ]barisa.*[25] While admitting that the coins with this legend may really be specimens of other rulers with incomplete legends, he thinks that the silver coins bearing the name of Mahādeva establishes the existence of an Audumbara ruler of that name.[26] But 'Mahādeva', as it is used *before* the royal title in all the four cases, is apparently meant for a royal epithet and refers to the 'god' Mahādeva (not an Audumbara chief), indicating 'Māhādeva', i.e. 'a devotee of god Mahādeva'. Had 'Mahādeva', in the legend under discussion stood for the name of a ruler, we would expect it, on the analogy of the coin-legends of other rulers of this series of coins, to occur between *raña* and *Odu[ṁ]barisa.* The legend signifies '[Coin] of the king so-and-so, the Audumbari, [the devotee] of [the god] Mahādeva'.[27] The existence of a fourth Audumbara ruler called Mahādeva is not, therefore, established by the copper coins under discussion, which are, however, Audumbara issues no doubt, but without the name of their striker or strikers. Moreover, as we shall see below, the attribution of the silver coins with the name of Mahādeva to the Audumbaras, as made by Cunningham and Allan, is also doubtful.

Two types of silver coins have been attributed to the Audumbaras, one bearing the name of Dharaghosha and the other that of Mahādeva. The silver coins of Dharaghosha depict on the obverse the standing figure of a sage, labelled as *Viśpamitra* (i.e. Viśvāmitra) and on the reverse a tree-in-railing on the right and a trident-battle-axe on the left.[28] The legend, *Mahadevasa raña Dharaghoshasa Odu[ṁ]barisa*, occurs on the obverse in Kharoshṭhī and on the reverse in Brāhmī,

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25 *BMC (AI)*, p. 123, Pl. XV. 5.

26 Ibid., p. lxxxiii.

27 This view of ours has also been expressed in a paper entitled "The Attribution of the Mahādeva Coins" read at the XXVI International Congress of Orientalists held in New Delhi in 1964 : see *Proc., XXVI Int. Cong. Ori.*, p. 112 (List of Papers). Cf. also *AIU*, p. 161, n. 4 and Ajaya Mitra Shastri in *JNSI*, XXVI, pp. 158-59 for a similar view.

28 *BMC(AI)* p. 124, Pl. XIV. 14.

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exactly as on the copper coins, and thus connects the two series. The copper and the silver coins of Dharaghosha are also connected by the trident-battle-axe and the tree devices. The silver coins issued in the name of Mahādeva bear on the obverse the figure of a bull and on the reverse that of an elephant, and are strikingly similar in type and style to the silver coin of Vaimaki Rudravarman.[29] The legend on these coins is—*Bhagavata Mahadevasa rajaraña* and occurs in Kharoshṭhī on the obverse and in Brāhmī on the reverse. The tribal name (Audumbara) is absent on these coins, but their attribution is based on the name Mahādeva, which is also supposed to occur on the copper coins bearing the tribal name, the type elephant with a trident in front, and general similarity to the silver piece of Dharaghosha.[30]

But the grounds on which the 'Mahādeva' coins are attributed to the Audumbaras are rather unconvincing. Firstly, as we have seen, the word 'Mahādeva' on some copper coins with incomplete legends does not refer to a new king, but is used as a regal epithet referring to the god Mahādeva. Secondly, while the coins of other Audumbara rulers depict only the forepart of an elephant on the obverse and the trident on the reverse, those of 'Mahādeva' bear the full figure of the elephant along with the trident on the same side and show in this respect a very striking resemblance with the same device on the coins of Vaimaki Rudravarman. Thirdly, as to the similarity between the Mahādeva coins and those of Dharaghosha, it may be pointed out that a general similarity of the sort is noticed in all the indigenous silver issues of this period. Moreover, the type of Mahādeva's silver coin is entirely different from that of Dharaghosha, and is remarkably identical in every detail with that of Vaimaki Rudravarman. Again, while Dharaghosha's silver and copper issues bear identical legends on the obverse (in Kharoshṭhī) and on the reverse (in Brāhmī), the silver pieces of Mahādeva have entirely a different legend from that on the copper coins of

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29 Cf. ibid., p. 123, Pl. XIV. 16 (Mahādeva) and ibid., p. 125, Pl. XIV. 13 (Rudravarman).

30 Cf ibid., p. lxxxv.

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the supposed Mahādeva. And it is significant that the tree (Udumbara ?) which is invariably found on the Audumbara coins is absent on the Mahādeva issues. Thus, it appears more logical to attribute the Mahādeva coins to the Vaimakis rather than to the Audumbaras, if at all the absence of the tribal designation on them can be ignored.[31]

The copper and the silver coins seem to be somewhat contemporary issues, as the name of Dharaghosha occurs in both the series. And since Rudradāsa and Śivadāsa are represented by their copper pieces alone, they probably preceded Dharaghosha who appears to have introduced the silver currency. On grounds of palaeography, of both the Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī legends, Cunningham, R. D. Banerji and Allan assigned these coins to the first century B.C.[32] This is also supported by their association with other datable foreign coins in some finds. A silver coin of Dharaghosha was found along with some coins of the Indo-Greek king Apollodotus Philopator at Jwalamukhi,[33] while the Pathankot pieces were found in company with the coins of Zoilus II, Vonones and Gondophares as well as of Kaṇishka and Huvishka.[34] The Audumbara rulers are, therefore, to be assigned to a period between the later Indo-Greeks on the one hand and the Parthian and Kushāṇa rulers on the other, i.e. a date about the first century B.C. Allan dated the silver coin of Dharaghosha about the middle of the first century B.C.[35] Śivadāsa and Rudradāsa may, therefore, be placed in the first half of that century.

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31 Ajaya Mitra Shastri, while holding the same view (that Mahādeva was not an Audumbara chief), does not however indicate to whom these coins may be attributed : cf. *JNSI*, XXVI, pp. 159 ff. and ibid., XXVII, pp. 87 ff. According to Jai Prakash, on the other hand, the Mahādeva coins were issued by Dharaghosha to commemorate his victory over the Indo-Greeks and are comparable to the 'Brahmaṇyadeva coins' of the Yaudheyas : ibid., XXVII pp. 129-30.

32 Cunningham, *CAI*, p. 67 ; R. D. Banerji, *NS*, XXIII, p. 249 ; and Allan, *BMC* (*AI*) p. lxxxiv.

33 *CAI*, p. 67.

34 *BMC* (*AI*), p. lxxxiv.

35 Ibid., pp. lxxxiv-v.

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The round copper coins of Class III 'are not in type or style particularly closely connected with the coins bearing the name Odumbari'[36] (i.e. Classes I and II). They are later than the other two classes of coins, and dated by Allan about the first century B.C. or A.D.[37] On the obverse of these coins appears the figure of a warrior (probably Kārttikeya), standing with a spear (showing a shaft on some coins), while on the reverse are depicted an elephant, sometimes with a rider, and a tree in front (rarely visible). These coins also bear identical biscriptual legends—Kharoshṭhī on the obverse and Brāhmī on the reverse. Four rulers entitled *rājan* are represented in this series. They are—Āryamitra (Ajamita), Bhānumitra, Mahābhūtimitra and Mahīmitra.[38]

The attribution of these coins to the Audumbaras is due to Cunningham, and is based on their provenance. They came from the Punjab, notably from the Hoshiarpur District.[39] But this attribution is doubted by R. D. Banerji as they do not bear the tribal name.[40] S. K. Chakrabortty, however, maintains the attribution of Cunningham. According to him, a change in the tribal character of the Audumbara constitution might have led to the omission of the tribal name from the coin-legends, while an emphasis was put on the names of their chiefs.[41] It is not impossible that the tribal oligarchy of the Audumbaras was gradually transformed into a monarchy or followed by a new dynasty of rulers with mitra-ending names, who discarded the practice of putting the name of the tribe on the coins and struck them in their own names alone. But these coins retained some local characteristics and are connected with the earlier Audumbara series by the presence of biscriptual legends on them, the figure of the elephant,

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36 Cf. ibid., p. lxxxvi.

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid., p. 125, Pl. XV. 13 (Āryamitra), ibid., p. 128, Pl. XLIII. 2 (Bhānumitra), ibid., p. 287, No. 30A (Mahābhūtimitra), and ibid., p. 126. Pl. XV. 17-18 (Mahimitra).

39 *CAI*, pp. 66, 69-70 ; and *BMC* (*AI*), p. lxxxvi.

40 *NS*, XXIII, p. 248.

41 Ibid., XLVI, p. N. 74.

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the tree, and the axe-head sometimes attached to the spear held by the warrior figure.[42]

Of the four rulers represented by the coins of Class III, Mahīmitra alone is not known to have used the type 'elephant-with-rider'. Āryamitra's coins, however, represent the animal both with and without the rider.[43] Āryamitra, therefore, may be placed between Mahīmitra and the other two rulers who use only the 'elephant-with-rider' type. There is no clue to determine who between Bhānumitra and Mahābhūtimitra preceded the other.

The name-ending *mitra* of the rulers represented by the coins of Class III is interesting in so far as we know that many of the rulers of several dynasties of Madhyadeśa had similar names. Moreover, one of the types of Bhānumitra's coins bears on the reverse the third Pañchāla symbol (S 36) as well as the symbol (S 48) on which the sun symbol of the coins of Pañchāla Sūryamitra is placed.[44] A coin of Pañchāla Bhānumitra seems also to have been found along with a specimen of Bhānumitra of this series.[45] Inspite of these associations it is difficult to identify the two Bhānumitras, since the coins under discussion form a different series and are distinguished from the Pañchāla coins in their types as well as in their use of the Kharoshṭhī legends. Even though the territory for which these coins were issued is not definitely known, the use of the Kharoshṭhī script as well as their provenance suggests that it was somewhere in the eastern Punjab, in or adjoining the Audumbara country.

We may in this connection refer to Jayaswal's views about the connection of the Audumbara rulers with the Śuṅgas.[46]

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42 Cf. *BMC (AI)*, p. lxxxvi.

43 Ibid., p. 126, Pl. XLIII. 1 (with rider) and ibid., p. 125, Pl. XV. 13. (without rider).

44 Cf. Ibid., p. 127, Pl. XV. 21 (Bhānumitra) and ibid., p. 193, Pl. XXVII. 8 (Sūryamitra).

45 Cunningham enlists a coin of Pañchāla Bhānumitra along with that of Bhānumitra of this series (see *CAI*, p. 70, Pl. IV. 12-13). All these coins are said to have been procured by him, 'in the northern Punjab beyond Lahore' (ibid., p. 66).

46 *JRAS* 1935 p. 790.

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He takes the epithet *Bhagavata* on the silver coins of Mahādeva as the name of the issuer and Mahādeva as his epithet and identifies him with the ninth Śuṅga king Bhāgavata. According to him, both Āryamitra and Bhānumitra of the coins of Class III belonged to the Śuṅga dynasty, the former being identified with the eighth Śuṅga king Vajramitra. He thinks that the figure of Viśvāmitra, the traditional progenitor of the Śuṅgas, on the silver coins of Dharaghosha indicated the Śuṅga lineage of the Audumbara rulers. He also points out the connection between the names *Udumbara* and *Śuṅga*, both of which signify the 'fig tree'. But all his identifications are fanciful, and none of the Audumbara rulers, who were merely tribal chiefs, can be identified with any of the Śuṅga kings. Moreover, as we have seen, the connection of 'Bhagavata Mahādeva' or the 'Mitras' with the dynasty of Audumbara Dharaghosha, on which Jayaswal's suppositions are based, is uncertain.

The use of the figure of Viśvāmitra on Dharaghosha's coins is interesting, and may have some reference to the Ṛigvedic association of the sage with the Beas valley. In one of the hymns of the third *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛigveda*, which is traditionally attributed to him, Viśvāmitra praises the rivers Vipāś (Beas) and Śutudri (Sutlej). It is said that once when the Bharatas, engaged in a raid, came to the rivers from the east, they found them in high flood, but Viśvāmitra by his prayers induced the waters to subside.[47] Viśvāmitra is thus specially connected with the Beas valley, and the Audumbaras who dwelt there might have claimed descent from the sage and commemorated him on their coins. It may be noted here that, according to the *Harivaṁśa* (XXVII. 1466), 'certain descendants of Viśvāmitra were called Audumbaras'.[48] J. N.

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47 Cf. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, London, 1912, Vol. II, p. 310.

48 See *Mark. P.*, p. 355, n. K. K. Dasgupta tries to establish the connection of the Audumbaras with the sage Viśvāmitra on the evidence of a story about the birth of Viśvāmitra as found in the *Kālikāpurāṇa*, which narrates that the mother of Viśvāmitra embraced a fig-tree (*audumbara*) in order to have a child : *The Audumbaras*, pp. 6-7.

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Banerjea, however, is of the opinion that the figure of Viśvāmitra stands for Śiva.[49]

J. C. Ghosh points out that Viśvāmitra is depicted on the coins of Dharaghosha as a Brāhmaṇa with a *yajñopavīta*, and that some Brāhmaṇas of the Vaiśvāmitra family are known from inscriptions to bear the surname *ghosha*. He therefore takes Dharaghosha and his dynasty as Brāhmaṇas of the Audumbari *gotra* of the Vaiśvāmitra family. According to him, the members of the dynasty of Dharaghosha might have been the feudatories of the Kāṇvas, and, as both the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas were Brāhmaṇas, Dharaghosha's family might have sprung from among their community.[50] But even if Dharaghosha was a Brāhmaṇa, there is no evidence to show that his family was connected in any way with the Śuṅgas or the Kāṇvas.

The Audumbaras were an enterprising people, having prosperous trade and commerce, and members of their community even made donations at the distant Sāñchī *stūpas* near Bhilsa.[51] The material prosperity of this people is explained by the situation of their kingdom at the junction of the plains and mountains—on the great trade-route to Taxila from the Indo-Gangetic valley, via Rohitaka (Rohtak), Agrodaka (Agroha) and Śākala (Sialkot).[52] As shown by Cunningham, Pathankot which was one of the principal towns of the Audumbara country, "naturally became the great emporium between the two rich valleys of Kangra and Chamba in the hills, and the two great cities of Lahor and Jālandhar in the plains."[53] The political career of the people seems to have been brought to an end either by the Parthians or by the Kushāṇas in the first century A. D.; for Audumbara coins of a later period are not known.

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49 *JNSI*, XXII, p. 43.

50 *Ind. Cult.*, I, pp. 75 ff.

51 Cf. n. 8 above.

52 Cf. J. Przyluski, "Un ancien peuple du Punjab : les Udumbara," in *Jour. Asiatique*, 1926, pp, 1 ff.

53 *CASR*, XIV, p. 116.

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2. The Kulūtas

The Kulūtas are an ancient people and are mentioned in early literary texts. The name Kulūta seems to occur in the *Mahābhārata* in various forms.[54] In one *śloka* of the Bhīshma-parvan (Ch. VIII. 52) they are mentioned as Ulūta, in association with the peoples of Kāśmīra, Gandhāra, Abhisāra, etc. In another *śloka* of the same *parvan* (Ch. VIII. 64) the Kulūtas are probably mentioned as Kulatthas and are included amongst the *Mlechchha* peoples like the Yavanas, Chīnas, Kāmbojas, Hūṇas, Pārasikas, etc. The Karṇaparvan (Ch. XII. 475 and 485) also refers to a country called Kulūta.[55] The *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* notices the Kulaṭas (i.e. Kulūtas) amongst the peoples of the north-east, viz. the Kāśmīras, Abhisāras, Daradas, Taṅganas, etc.[56] The *Vishṇupurāṇa* has Utūla (variantly Ulūta or Kulūṭa) in association with the Gandhāras, Abhisāras, and others.[57] The *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira twice refers to the Kulūtas—once (xiv, 22) in the North-West Division along with the Tukhāras, Tālas, Hālas, Madras, etc. and again (xiv, 29) in the North-East Division in association with the Kīras, Kāśmīras, Abhisāras, Daradas, Taṅganas, Ḍāmaras (Audumbaras ?), Chīnas, Kauṇindas, etc.[58] It is apparent that the *Mahābhārata* and the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* refer to the Kulūtas of the North-East Divison of the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*. The *Mudrā-rākshasa* mentions them as Kaulūtas in two passages and, as in the *Mahābhārata*, calls them *Mlechchhas* along with the Kāśmīras, Pārasikas, Chīnas, Hūṇas, etc.[59] The *Kādambarī* contains a reference to a daughter of the king of the Kulūtas.[60] Hiuen

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54 Cf. *JRAS* 1900, pp. 531-32.

55 Cf. *Mārk. P.*, p. 375, n.

56 Ibid., p. 382. For reference to the Kulūtas in other Purāṇas, see *GAMI*, p. 27 and n. 1.

57 Wilson's trans. of the *Vishṇupurāṇa*, p. 191 and n. 86. He adds that 'the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Kishkindhyākāṇḍa, XLIII. 8) has Kolūkas or Kaulūtas amongst western tribes'; but their identification with the Kulūtas is doubtful: cf. *JRAS* 1900, p. 532.

58 *JRAS* 1900, p. 533.

59 Ibid., pp. 535-36.

60 Ibid. p. 536.

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Tsang places the K'iu-lu-to (Kulūta) country 700 li or 117 miles to the north-east of Jālandhara.[61] In the Chambā copper-plate inscription of Somavarmadeva and Āsaṭadeva (middle of the 11th century) the Kulūtas are mentioned along with their neighbouring peoples, the Trigartas, and the Kīras who are elsewhere found in association with them.[62] This inscription is thus of great importance in confirming the evidence of the literary texts.

The accounts of Hiuen Tsang led Cunningham to identify the Kulūta country with the modern Kulu valley in the Kangra District.[63] Rapson supports this identification and adds that the "Kulūtas of the Chamba Copper-Plate, of Hiouen Thsang, of Varāhamihira's N. E. Division, and of the *Mudrārākshasa* are almost certainly, as is shown by the common association of names, the ancient inhabitants of the Kullu valley."[64] According to him, the provenance of the unique silver coin of Kaulūta Vīrayaśas, which was procured by Cunningham 'in the northern Punjab beyond Lahore' (i.e. the north-eastern Punjab), along with some coins of the Audumbaras and the Kuṇindas[65] (who are mentioned by Varāhamihira in association with the Kulūtas) also confirms this location of the Kulūta country. He thinks that the Kulūtas were the 'eastern neighbours of the Udumbaras'.[66] The similarity of the silver coins of the Audumbaras, Kulūtas and the Kuṇindas seems also to suggest that their territories were not far separated from one another. The Kulūta country may probably be placed between those of the Audumbaras and the Kuṇindas, so far as the evidence of the silver coin goes.

But the discovery of eleven copper coins of a homogenous series bearing the names of Vijayamitra, Vīrayaśas, and probably two other rulers of the Kulūtas, during the excavations at Taxila,[67] throws some fresh light on the Kulūtas and their

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61 Cf. *AGI*, pp. 162-63.

62 *Ind. Ant.*, XVII, pp. 7 ff.; cf. also *JRAS* 1900, p. 537.

63 *AGI*, p. 163.

64 *JRAS* 1900, pp. 538-39.

65 *CAI*, p. 66.

66 *CHI*, p. 529.

67 *Taxila*, I, pp. 171 and 213; ibid., II, pp. 787, 793 and 820, Nos. 252-57. The coins are discussed below.

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territory. Since the name Vīrayaśas is also found on a coin of the Taxila find, and since there is symbolical inter-connection between his silver coin and the copper piece bearing his name (as noted below), we may hold that the Kulūta family represented by the Taxila copper pieces was identical with that of Vīrayaśas of the silver coin.

The Taxila issues representing several rulers of the Kulūtas, being of 'copper', are not expected to travel far from their place of origin and may, therefore, indicate that the district of their circulation was not far from Taxila. Vīrayaśas whose coins alone are found both at Taxila and in the north-eastern Punjab (along with the Audumbara coins) was the latest of the rulers represented by the Taxila pieces, as we shall see below. It may possibly be suggested, therefore, that the family of Vīrayaśas originally bagan to rule somewhere near Taxila in the north-western Punjab, and that during the time of Vīrayaśas it moved for some reason to the Kulu valley which appears to have derived its name from the Kulūtas. We may here recall that Varāhamihira refers to two peoples of this name, one in the North-West Division and the other in the North-East Division, the latter of which is identified with the Kulūtas of the Kulu valley. It is not unlikely that Varāhamihira's Kulūtas of the North-West Division refer to a section of the tribe who remained in its original home even after the migration of its other section under Vīrayaśas. The association of the Kulūtas with the *Mlechchhas* in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Mudrārākshasa* may also suggest that they originally hailed from an area in the north-western Punjab where many foreign peoples or *Mlechchhas* are known to have ruled. Even if the Kulūtas were themselves of foreign origin, their names and their coin-types show that they had become thoroughly Indianised by the time they struck their coins.[68]

The Kulūta coinage may be grouped under two classes—one of square copper coins discovered at Taxila, and the other represented by the unique silver piece of Vīrayaśas. The coins of Class I are of purely Indian types, consisting of groups

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68 Cf. *JRAS* 1900, p. 538.

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of symbols on either side. The symbols on the obverse are the six-tiered mountain surmounted by standard (S 51), *Svastika* (S 29) and triangle-headed standard (S 3), while those on the reverse are the *nandipada*-standard-in-railing (S 49) or tree-in-railing, circlet surrounded by four *nandipadas* (S 34), conventionalised lotus (S 50) and taurine (S 35)—arranged in different orders on the coins of different rulers. They bear biscriptual legends, Brāhmī on the obverse and Kharoshṭhī on the reverse. The Kharoshṭhī legends, like their Brāhmī counterparts, occur in complete form on these coins. Four rulers, viz. Ārya (?), Satyamitra (?), Vijayamitra and Vīrayaśas, seem to be represented by the following sets of legends, as restored by Allan :—[69]

1. Obv....*Āryasya*...(in Brāhmī)
   Rev. Kharoshṭhī legend effaced.
2. Obv....*ya*...(in Br.)
   Rev...[Sa]chamitasa (?) . (in Kh.)
3. Obv. *Rājña Kulūtasa Vijayamitrasya* (in Br.)
   Rev. [*Raña*] *Kulutasa Vijayamitasa* (in Kh.)
4. Obv. Brāhmī legend defaced.
   Rev. [*Ra*]*ña Kulutasa Viraya*[*śasa*] (in Kh.).

"The copper pieces, like the silver coin, are exceptionally heavy."[70]

The round silver coin of Vīrayaśas[71] has purely Indian devices, although its fabric and denomination betray foreign influence. It bears on the obverse a wheel of twelve spokes surrounded by pellets with two miniature symbols—a *nandipada* at the top and triangle-headed standard (upside down) below, and circular Brāhmī legend : (VII) *Rājña Kolūtasya*[72] (II) *Vīrayaśasya*. The reverse is made up of a ten-tiered mountain

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69 *Taxila*, II, p. 820, No. 256 (? Ārya), No. 255 (? Satyamitra), Nos. 252-53, 257 (Vijayamitra), and No. 254 (Vīrayaśas). See Marshall's remarks for the reading of the legends by Allan.

70 Ibid., p. 841.

71 *BMC*(*A I*), p. 158, Pl. XVI. 4. Cunningham (*C A I*, p. 70, Pl. IV. 14) and Allan describe the coin as of copper, but from the reference of Whitehead to the coin in *Taxila*, II, p. 841 we know that it is of silver.

72 Cunningham read it as *Koputasya* (or *Koptanasya*) : *CAI*, p. 70, Pl. IV. 14. Bergney corrected it as *Kolūtasya* : *JRAS* 1900, p. 415. As to the form *Kolūta* for *Kaulūta*, see Rapson, *JRAS* 1900, p. 429 and n.

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with a wavy line below (S 52), a *nandipada* (S 53) above, a *nāga* symbol (S 54) on right and a *svastika* (S 29) on left. The Kharoshṭhī legend is confined only to *raña ra* to the right, and *ña* to the left, of the mountain symbol. The coin is a 40-rati didrachm of the light-weight Indian standard of the Indo-Greeks (75.7 grains), although coins of this denomination are not known to have been struck by them or their foreign successors.[73] The silver coin is connected with the copper series by mountain, *nandipada* and *svastika* symbols—although all of different forms.

According to Rapson, the silver coin of Vīrayaśas may belong to the first or second century A.D.[74] Allan also comes to about the same conclusion and points out that the Brāhmī legend "is practically Sanskrit, which shows [that] the coin is not early ; the survival of the Prakrit *raña* in Kharoshṭhī on the reverse shows that it cannot be very late. A date round about A. D. 100 seems to be indicated."[75] D. C. Sircar, on the other hand, assigns Vīrayaśas to 'about the latter half of the third century A. D.'[76] But the evidence of the Taxila find shows that he cannot be placed so late. For, according to Marshall, "the copper pieces may be a few decades earlier [than the silver coin of Vīrayaśas], since stylistically they appear to be somewhat older than the silver one, but their findspot points to their having been buried in the early Kushāṇa period, and there cannot in any case be much difference in date."[77] The earlier date of the Taxila pieces is also borne out by the fact that they have full Kharoshṭhī legends, while the silver coin has only the word *raña* in Kharoshṭhī. Since they were buried during the period of Kadphises II (whose reign is generelly believed to have terminated about 78 A. D.) and Soter Megas, the copper coins are assigned to a date about the beginning of the first century A. D. by both Marshall and Whitehead.[78] And the occurrence

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73 Cf. *BMC* (*AI*), p. c. Cf. also A. N. Lahiri, "Metrology of the Indo-Greek Silver Coins". *Jour. Ancient Indian History*, Vol. I, p. 61.

74 *JRAS* 1900, p. 537 and *CHI*, p. 529.

75 *BMC* (*AI*), p. c.

76 *AIU*, p. 161, n. 2.

77 Cf. *Taxila*, II, p. 787.

78 Cf. ibid., I, p. 213 (Marshall's view) and ibid., II, p. 841 (Whitehead's note).

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of a copper piece of Vīrayaśas bearing full Kharoshṭhī legend in this series suggests that he cannot be far separated in time from other rulers of the group. Vīrayaśas cannot, therefore, be placed later than the closing years of the first century A. D. Moreover, his copper coin with full Kharoshṭhī legend shows that he is not likely to have flourished in the latter half of the third eentury A. D., when Kharoshṭhī ceased to be used in coin legends.[79]

The silver coin of Vīrayaśas with curtailed Kharoshṭhī legend which is later than the copper pieces indicates that he was the latest of the rulers represented by the Taxila coins. Of the three other rulers, Ārya (?) alone uses a tree-in-railing in place of the *nandipada*-standard-in-railing occurring on the reverse of the coins of other kings (including Vīrayaśas). He therefore appears to be the earliest of the rulers represented by the Taxila coins. Of Satyamitra (?) and Vijayamitra, again, the former was probably the earlier, as the Kharoshṭhī legend on his coin 'is in a more cursive style' than those on the coins of Vijayamitra and Vīrayaśas.[80] The rulers represented by the Taxila coins may therefore be arranged in the following order :

1. Ārya (?)
2. Satyamitra (?)
3. Vijayamitra
4. Vīrayaśas

If Vīrayaśas is assigned to a date about the end of the first century A.D., Vijayamitra who appears to be his near predecessor might have flourished about the middle or the third quarter of that century.

The Kaulūta Vijayamitra has been identified with Vijayamitra, the successor of Vīryakamitra, of the relic casket inscription from Bajaur in the former North-Western Frontier Province.[81] The latter is again identified with another Vijayamitra, known from some coins of the purely Indo-Scythian type of his son Indravarman, who is again identified with the

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79 Cf. Rapson, *JRAS* 1900, p. 538.

80 Cf. *Taxila*, II, p. 841, note on No. 255 (Satyamitra). This Satyamitra cannot be identified with Satyamitra of the Ayodhyā coins [*BMC* (*AI*), p. 135, Pl. XVII. 11] : see p. 101 and 144 above.

81 Cf. *SI*, p. 103 and n. 2.

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father of Aśpavarman, the *strategos* of Azes II and Gondophares.[82] From these identifications, it follows that the Kaulūta Vijayamitra was the same as the successor of Vīryakamitra as well as his namesake of the Indo-Scythin coins. But even though it is possible to identify Vijayamitra of the Bajaur inscription with the father of Indravarman (since both of them seem to have flourished about the middle of the first century B. C., and belonged to feudatory families),[83] it is difficult to identify any of them with Kaulūta Vijayamitra, for various reasons. Firstly, Vijayamitra of the Kulūta family, as we have seen, appears to have ruled about the middle of the first century A.D., i. e. about a century later than his two namesakes.[84] Secondly, the Kulūta coins are so widely different in types, style and fabric from those of the Indo-Scythic series[85] that they cannot be ascribed to the members of the same family. Thirdly, the tribal designation (*Kaulūta*) which invariably occurs on the silver as well as the copper pieces of the Kulūtas is conspicuously absent from the Bajaur inscription as well as from the legends on the Indo-Scythian coins attributed to the satrapal family of Vijayamitra. Lastly, excepting the name of Vijayamitra, no other name is common to the family of Kaulūta Vijayamitra, on the one hand, and that of the Indo-Scythian satraps, on the other.

As the Taxila coins were buried during the period of Kadphises II, it appears that the Kulūtas were driven from

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82 Cf. 1944, pp. 99 ff.; and *AIU*, p. 115, n. 1.

83 Since Vijayamitra was separated by a period of about half a century from Viryakamitra (cf. N. G. Majumder, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, p 2 and D. C. Sircar, *AIU*, p. 115, n. 1), a feudatory of Menander I (who flourished about the second half of the second century B. C.), he may be placed about the middle of the first century B. C. Again, since Aśpavarman was a *strategos* of Azes II and Gondophares (c. 19-45 A. D), his grandfather Vijayamitra may be assigned to a date about the middle of the first century B. C. While Vijayamitra's predecessor served under Menander I, the family of Aśpavarman served under the Indo-Scythians and the Indo-Parthians.

84 There is another Vijayamitra represented by the Ayodhyā coins [*BMC (AI)*, p. 133, Pl. XVII. 22], who, however, flourished much later than Kaulūta Vijayamitra : see pp. 103 and 143 above. Cf. also the name-ending *mitra* of some of the rulers ascribed to the Audumbaras : see above Sec. 1.

85 Cf. *Taxila*, III, Pl. 213. 252 (Vijayamitra of the Kulūtas) and *PMC*. p. 150, Pl. XV. 35 (Aśpavarman with Gonodphares).

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their original home near Taxila by the pressure of Kushāṇa conquests about the latter part of the first century A.D., when Vīrayaśas probably shifted his capital to the later and better-known settlement of the Kulūtas, the Kulu valley. But since the coin of no other Kulūta ruler is found in this region, it seems that Vīrayaśas could not hold long against the Kushāṇa onslaughts, before which most of the Punjab states succumbed. He appears, therefore, to be the last independent ruler of the Kulūtas.[86] Later literary references to the Kulūtas, however, show that they survived as a people, but not as a political power.

3. The Kuṇindas

The Kuṇindas are mentioned in early Hindu literature generally as 'Kulindas' and rarely as 'Kuṇindas'. The legends on Kuṇinda coins, however, give the name as 'Kuṇinda'. The *Mahābhārata* refers to them three times as 'Kulinda'.[87] In the Sabhāparvan (xxv, 996) they are said to be the first nation conquered by Arjuna in his northward march from Indraprastha. Cunningham shows that the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* mentions them as 'Kaulinda'.[88] The *Vāyu* and the *Vishṇu* Purāṇas refer to them as 'Kulinda',[89] which form of the tribe's name seems to be known to Ptolemy who gives the name 'Kulindrine' to the country in which the Beas, Sutlej and Jumna rise.[90] Both the forms 'Kuṇinda' and 'Kulinda' were known to Varāhamihira,

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86 A later ruler of the Kulūta area, Viz. *Mahārāja* Chaṇḍeśvarahastin, son of *Mahārāja* Īśvarahastin, is known from the Salri (Mandi State) inscription of about the first half of the fourth century A. D. (*Ep Ind.*, XXXV. pp. 66 ff).

87 Sabhāparvan, XXV. 996; ibid., LI. 1858-59; and Vanaparvan, CLXXVII. 12350. Cf. *Mārk. P.*, p. 316, n.

88 *CASR*, XIV, p. 129 and *CAI*, p. 71. The *Mārk P.* has *Kaliṅga*, which Pargiter considers to be a misreading for Kulindas, as occurs in the *Vāyupuraṇa*: cf. *Mārk. P.*, p. 316, and n.

89 For *Vāyupurāṇa* see *Mārk. P.*, p. 316, n. and for *Vishṇupurāṇa* see Wilson's trans., p. 193 and n. 130. Wilson adds that the Kulindas were 'one of the tribes in the west or north-west subdued by Arjuna'. For other Purāṇas see *GAMI*, p. 24 and n. 3. It may be added that the Purāṇas call the Kuṇindas, 'people who dwell along the Ṣatadru', i. e. Sutlej.

90 Cf. *CASR*, XIV, p. 129 and *BMC*(*AI*), p. civ. The Sutlej, however, does not rise in this region, but further east, to the north-west of Nepal.

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who refers to them several times. He places the 'Kauṇindas' in the North-Eastern Division along with the Kāśmīras, Abhisāras, Kulūtas and Sairiudhas (xiv. 3o),[91] and also refers to a king of the Kuṇindas (xiv. 33).[92] "In another place he marks their position still more definitely as being to the east of the Madras".[93] The leaders of the *gaṇa* of the Kulindas (*Kaulindān gaṇapuṅgavān*) are again mentioned by him (iv. 24).[94] Cunningham thinks that the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang described the Kuṇinda country under the name 'Śrughna'. The capital of Śrughna is identified by him with Sugh near Buriya, on the west bank of the Jumnā and on the high road leading from Ambala to Sirsawa and Saharanpur, as most of the Kuṇinda coins he procured came from this region.[95]

The literary references about the location of the Kuṇindas are supported by the findspots of their coins. Cunningham identifies the Kuṇindas with the Kunets of the present day, "who form the bulk of the population in the valleys of the Bias, the Satlej and the Tons Rivers", and thus locates the Kuṇinda country in the hill districts on both sides of the Sutlej. He thinks that both the forms of their name, Kulinda and Kuṇinda, are preserved in Kulu on the Beas and in Kunawar on the Sutlej, respectively.[96] But Jayaswal and Grierson doubt the identification of the Kunets or Kanets of the Simla hills with the ancient Kuṇindas.[97] The Kuṇinda coins are, however, found over a wide area—at Tappa Mewa in Hamirpur in the Kangra District of the Punjab, at Sunet near Ludhiana, at Jwalamukhi, at Karnal and Behat near Saharanpur, and mainly between Ambala and Saharanpur.[98] From this distribution of their coins Allan suggests that "the Kuṇindas occupied a narrow strip of land at the foot of the Siwalik hills between the

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91 Cf. *CASR*, XIV, p. 129 and *JRAS* 1900, p. 533.

92 *CASR*, XIV, p. 129 and *BMC* (*AI*), p. civ and n. 2.

93 *CASR*, XIV, p. 129 and *CAI*. p, 71.

94 Cf. *HP*, Part I, p. 82, n. 1.

95 *CASR*, XIV, p. 134.

96 Ibid., pp. 129 30 and *CAI*, pp. 70-71.

97 Jayaswal, *HP*, Part 1, p. 82, n. 1 ; and Grierson, *Linguistic Surv. of India*, Vol. IX, p 6, n. (cf. *HP*, Part I. p 217).

98 Cf. *BMC* (*AI*), p. ciii and notes.

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Jumna and the Sutlej and the territory between the upper courses of the Beas and Sutlej."[99]

According to Pargiter, "the Kulindas extended further east along the southern slopes of the Himalayas as far as Nepal". He shows on the evidence of the *Mahābhārata* (Sabhāparvan, li. 1858-9), that the territory of the Kuṇindas also included the hills north of the Mandāra, which he identifies with the Almorā hills (as distinct from the better-known Mandāra of the Bhagalpur District) and that 'the name appears to have comprised a considerable body of hill tribes, for 'all the countries of Kulinda' are spoken of (Vanaparvan, clxxvii. 12350).[100] Powell-Price also conjectured that the Kuṇindas ruled over the lower Himalayas including the present Kumaon and some parts of the plains, from the discovery of several Kuṇinda coins at Śrīnagar in Garhwal.[101] This surmise has been confirmed by a further discovery of these coins from the villages of Sumari, Bahttisera and Dewalgaṛh, all within a radius of 10 miles and quite near to the town of Śrīnagar.[102] All these finds go to show that the territory of the Kuṇindas included some portion of the Kumaon hills as well.

The coinage of the Kuṇindas may be grouped into two broad classes. Class I comprises both silver and copper coins bearing the name of one *Mahārāja* Amoghabhūti, while Class II consists of copper issues alone, struck in the name of Chhatreśvara or Śiva, the national god of the Kuṇindas.[103]

The coins of Class I, both silver and copper, depict identical types. The obverse bears on the left a deer to right with three minor symbols (S 38, S 40, S 55) around, and a female figure (? Lakshmī) standing (sometimes on lotus) facing, holding flower in uplifted right hand. The reverse is composed of six symbols: in the centre a six-tiered mountain (S 51) with a *nandipada* (S 33) above, a wavy line below, a

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99 Ibid.

100 *Mārk. P.*, p. 316, n.

101 *JUPHS*, IV, p. 10. Powell-Price refers to the discovery of several Kuṇinda coins by Prayag Dayal at Śrinagar.

102 *JNSI*, VIII, pp. 36 f.

103 *BMC (AI)*, pp. ci-cii; also cf. *AIU*, p. 161, n. 1.

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tree-in-railing (S 13) to right, and a *svastika* (S 29) above a triangle-headed object (S 48) to left.

The silver coins are the 20-rati drachms of the light-weight Indian standard of the Indo-Greeks.[104] They bear legends in both Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī :[105]

Obv. *Rājñaḥ Kuṇiṁdasya* (or°*sa*) *Amoghabhutisya* (or°*sa*) *Mahārājasya* (or°*sa*) (in Br).

Rev. *Raña Kuṇindasa Amoghabhutisa Maharajasa* (in Kh.).

The copper coins are of three varieties—(a) one of 'neat fabric with good legends' (which are approximately of the size of silver coins,[106] (b) another of 'coarse fabric and very incomplete legends' (which are of various sizes and denominations)[107] and (c) the third 'of a larger diameter' which are rudely made.[108] All these coins bear on the obverse the same Brāhmī legend as on the silver issues, while the reverse Kharoshṭhī legend is replaced by a border of dots.[109]

The coins of Class II are large pieces of copper, and their module is suggested by the Kushāṇa copper coins.[110] They depict on the obverse a male figure (Śiva) standing facing, holding trident-axe in right hand and having a flower or star over his left shoulder. The reverse devices consist of a deer to left with some minor symbols (S 40, and three others) around, a wavy line below, a tree-in-railing (S 13), six tiered mountain (S 51) and triangle-headed standard (S 3)—arranged in different order in different varieties. The deer and the main reverse symbols recall those on the coins of Class I and thus connect the two series. The coins of Class II, like the copper pieces of Class I, bear Brāhmī legend on the obverse and a border of dots in place of the Kharoshṭhī legend on the reverse. The legend (in Brāhmī), reads : *Bhagavata*[*ḥ*] *Chatreśvara mahātmanaḥ*.[111]

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104 Ibid., pp. ci and 159, Pl. XXII. 1.

105 The reading *Kuṇinda* was first made by Cunningham: cf. *CAI*, p. 72.

106 *BMC* (*AI*), p. 162, Pl. XXIII. 1.

107 Ibid., p. 163, Pl. XXII. 10.

108 Ibid., pp. cii and 288, Pl. XL. 14.

109 Cunningham says that 'some of the copper coins are inscribed on both sides' : *CASR*, XIV, p. 138. No such coin is recorded in the *BMC* (*AI*) ; cf. p. ci.

110 Cf. *IC*, p. 12, and *BMC* (*AI*), pp. ciii and 167, Pl. XXIII. 12.

111 Allan reads *Bhāgavata* for *Bhagavataḥ*. For the correct reading see *AIU*, p. 161, n. 1.

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The animal on the coins of Amoghabhūti has been variously described by different scholars. Swiney designated it as an antelope-goat or a hill-goat,[112] while Theobald was of opinion that it is a mule of a deer and an yak and that on some coins the animal has the features of a deer.[113] A. C. Banerji suggested from the semi-circular horns, tufted tail, and form of the knee-joints of the fore-legs that it is an ox, buffalo or cow.[114] Scholars like Cunningham, Rapson, Smith, Allan and J. N. Banerjea, however, take it as deer.[115] The goddess standing by the animal with a lotus in her right hand is identified as Śrī-Lakshmī. If S. V. Venkateśvara is right in finding that 'in the latest Vedic texts we have the goddess Śrī represented as a golden antelope adorned with garlands of silver and gold', then, says J. N. Banerjea, 'we find here both human and animal forms of this goddess.'[116] He also points out that the *Mahāmāyūrī* (verse 82) refers to the Yaksha Ushṭrapāda as being the special object of worship in the land of the Kuṇindas, and that if the animal depicted on the Kuṇinda coins is taken to represent this *Yaksha*, the female figure by its side may stand for Lakshmī.[117]

The name Amoghabhūti is also a matter of different interpretations. Smith takes it as the name of a king of the Kuṇindas; but as the coins bearing that name vary much in execution, he thinks that they probably extended over a considerable period and that the name of Amoghabhūti continued on the coinage long after his decease.[118] But Jayaswal believes that 'Amoghabhūti was not the name of any particular king, but an official title meaning 'of unfailing prosperity', and that the same appellation appeared for centuries.[119] Allan, on the other

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112 *JASB* 1834, pp. 435 f.

113 Ibid., 1886, pp. 163-65. In *PASB* 1893, p. 174, however, he calls it a buffalo.

114 *JBORS*, XX, p. 171.

115 Cunninghum, *CAI*, p. 72, Pl. V. 1; Rapson, *IC*, Pl. III. 9; Smith, *IMC*, p. 167, No. 1 and n. 1; Allan, *BMC(AI)*, p. 159, Pl. XXII. 1; and J. N. Banerjea, *DHI*,[2] p. 134.

116 *DHI*[2], p. 134. See also *JNSI*, XXII, p. 45.

117 Ibid.

118 *IMC*, p. 161.

119 *HP*, Part I, p. 82, n. 1.

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hand, holds that the silver coins as well as the copper pieces of finer fabric (*var. a*) may represent the currency of one reign. The copper coins of coarser fabric (*Var. b*), which have given rise to doubts might have been, according to him, the ordinary coinage of the reign. He also suggests the probability that they were imitations made by early Kushāṇa invaders like the imitations of the coins of Hermaeus.[120]

The use of two royal titles *rājan* and *mahārāja* on Amoghabhūti's coins appears ridiculous to P. L. Gupta, who suggests that *rājñaḥ* is misinscribed for the word *rājañaḥ* and refers to the tribe *Rājanya* who might have formed an alliance with the Kuṇindas.[121] Smith has, however, rendered the legend—*Rājñaḥ Kuṇiṁdasya Amoghabhūtisya mahārājasya*—as 'Of Mahārāja Amoghabhūti, Rājā of the Kuṇindas',[122] while Allan translates it as 'Of king Amoghabhūti the Kuṇinda king'. Smith's translation seems to be a better one and there is no reason to take the word *rājñaḥ* as a misreading for *rājañaḥ*, as supposed by P. L Gupta. It is, again, pointed out by Allan that while the Brāhmī legend runs continuously round the coin, the Kharoshṭhī legend is split up into two parts, *mahārājasa* being written independently in the exergue and the remainder running along the margin. The latter arrangement is noteworthy and suggests, as shown by Allan, 'that some importance is given to the word *mahārāja* by giving it the place occupied by the king's name on Greek and Śaka coins.[123] It appears that the adoption of the title *mahārāja* (Great King), like the arrangement of the Kharoshṭhī legend, as well as the introduction of a silver currency in the 20-rati drachm standard, was all due to the influence of the contemporary Indo-Greek princes.

According to Rapson and Allan, there was a gap of about three centuries between the coins of Amoghabhūti and those issued in the name of god Chhatreśvara. Both the scholars place the Amoghabhūti coins in the first century B. C., while the

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120 *BMC(AI)*, p. cii.

121 *IHQ*, XXVII, p 204.

122 *IMC*, p. 161. Jai Prakash, however, interprets the legend as 'Of Amoghabhūti, the Mahārāja (or Chief), of the Kuṇinda Kings' and suggests that all members of the tribal assembly of the Kuṇindas were called *rājās*, while the President was called *Mahārāja*. Amoghabhūti was thus the Mahārāja or President of the Kuṇinda chiefs : *JNSI*, XXVII, p. 126.

123 *BMC(AI)*, p. cii.

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Chhatreśvara pieces are assigned to the third or fourth century A. D. by Rapson,[124] and to the end of the second or the third century A. D. by Allan.[125] D. C. Sircar, however, thinks that the coins of Amoghabhūti may also belong to the same period as that of the Chhatreśvara issues, i. e. the second or third century A. D.[126] But there are apparent difficulties on the way of accepting this view. Firstly, the silver coins of Amoghabhūti found at Jwalamukhi along with those of Audumbara Dharaghosha and the later Indo-Greek ruler Apollodotus II seem to suggest that they were all of about the same period, i.e. the first century B. C.[127] Secondly, the silver coins of Amoghabhūti with full Kharoshṭhī legend do not seem to be issued after the decline of the Kushāṇas in the third century A. D., since Kharoshṭhī legends on coins appear to have fallen into disuse after the early Kushāṇa rulers of the Kadphises group. A date about the end of the first century B. C. or the beginning of the first century A. D. may probably be assigned to Amoghabhūti.

If we accept an interval of about two centuries between the Amoghabhūti and the Chhatreśvara coins, we may hold that the Kuṇindas had to obey the supremacy of the Kushāṇas in the intermediate period, like all the other Punjab states, to regain independence only after the decline of the Kushāṇa power in the third century A. D. During the post-Kushāṇa period the Kuṇindas seem to have dedicated their state to their national god Chhatreśvara-Śiva in the same way as their southern neighbours the Yaudheyas did to their presiding deity Brahmaṇyadeva or Kārttikeya. But the relative scarcity of the later Kuṇinda coins suggests that the revival of the Kuṇinda power was only short-lived. It is not unlikely that the Kuṇindas were ultimately overpowered by the Yaudheyas. The later literary references to them show that, like the Kulūtas, they too were recognised as a people, if not as a political body.

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124 *IC*, p. 12, 50.
125 *BMC(AI)*, p. ciii.
126 *AIU*, p. 161, n. 1.
127 Cf. *CAI*, p. 67.

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4. The Madras

No coin of the Madras has so far been discovered. They are, however, known as an ancient people from literary texts, and their political existence during the post-Kushāṇa period is testified to by the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta.

The Madras were divided into two sections—northern and southern. The northern or 'Uttara' Madras lived beyond the Himalayas (probably in Kashmir), as known from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.[128] The southern Madras or the Madras proper are located in the Central Punjab, in Sialkot and the adjoining areas between the Ravi and the Chenab.[129] "But according to some, it (the Madra country) once extended from the Beas to the Chenab and even to the Jhelum."[130] The Madra capital was at Śākala or Sāgala-nagara, identified with modern Sialkot. The city is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and several Jātakas.[131]

The antiquity of the Madras goes back to the period of the Vedic literature which refers to their country as the home of orthodoxy.[132] Although politically not of much importance, the Madra country was once a centre of learning. In later times, however, it became notorious for outlandish customs.[133]

The early post-Vedic works ascribe a monarchical constitution to the Madras.[134] The Madra royal house is also referred to in the epic.[135] According to the Purāṇas, the Madras were descended from one of the septs of the family of Anu, son of Yayāti.[136] Alexander also found a Paurava king (Porus II) ruling in the city of Śākala, who fled in fear to the country of Gangaridae and whose kingdom was annexed by him.[137]

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128 VIII, 14 ; cf. *HP*, Part I, p. 92 ; and *PHAI*,[6] p. 64.

120 *PHAI*[6], p. 64.

130 *JASB* 1922, p. 257.

131 *Mahābhārata*, II. 32. 14 ; *Kāliṅgabodhi Jātaka*, No. 479 ; and *Kusa Jātaka*, No. 531 : cf. *PHAI*[6], p. 64, and n. 6, and p. 65 and n. 1.

132 *HP*, Part I, p. 188.

133 *PHAI*[6], p. 65.

134 *Ibid.*

135 Cf. Aśvapati and his daughter Sāvitri : *PHAI*[6], p. 65, n. 6. The Madra kingdom is mentioned in the Bhishmaparvan (Ch. IX) of the *Mahābhārata*. Mādri, the mother of Nakula and Sahadeva, was a Madra princess.

136 *Matsyapurāṇa*, 48. 10-20 ; *Vāyupurāṇa*, 99. 12-23 : *PHAI*[6], p. 63 and n. 5.

137 *CHI*, P. 370 and n 4.

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Madra is not included in the list of the Sixteen *Mahājanapadas*, although it is mentioned by Pāṇini amongst *saṅghas* other than the *āyudhajīvin*.[138] Kauṭilya refers to it as a *rāja-śabdin saṅgha*.[139] The Sabhāparvan (Ch. LII) of the *Mahābhārata* as well as the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* mentions the Madras along with the Yaudheyas, Trigartas, Rājanyas and other Punjab tribes.[140]

During the time of Alexander's invasion, the Madra country probably formed the easternmost part of Gandhāra, mentioned as 'Gandaris' by Alexander's historians.[141] After the departure of Alexander, it was presumably included in the Maurya empire. And from the fall of the Mauryas, it seems to have come successively under the domination of foreign dynasties. It is sometimes believed that Demetrius I made his capital at Saṅgala or Sagala (i. e. Śākala) which he named Euthydemia or Euthymedia after his father.[142] Pushyamitra Śuṅga appears to have pushed his conquests as far as Śākala and occupied it for a short while, for, it was there that he is alleged to have made his anti-Buddhist declaration. Afterwards, Śākala became the capital of Menander, as known from the *Milindapañha*, and was successively occupied by the princes of Scythian, Parthian and Kushāṇa origin.[143]

In the second century A. D., Ptolemy refers to the Pandoouoi, identified by McCrindle with the Pāṇḍavas, who were in immediate possession of the Śākala region.[144] The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta mentions the Madras as one of the autonomous frontier tribes along with the Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas, Yaudheyas and others.[145] It therefore appears that after periods of subjugation, the Madras emerged as an independent power only after the decline of the Kushāṇas in the Punjab area.

Whatever may have been the constitution of the Madras in

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138 Pāṇini, IV. 2. 131 ; cf. *HP*, Part I, p. 39.

139 *Arthaśāstra*, Ch. XI : cf. *HP*, Part I, p. 57.

140 *HP*, Part I, p. 155 ; and *Mārk. P.*, pp. 315 and 379. For the other Purāṇas, see *GAMI*, p. 29.

141 *PHAI*[6], p. 250 and n. 3.

142 Cf. *JASB* 1922, p. 257 ; *CHI*, p. 446 and *GBI*, p. 247.

143 Cf. *JASB* 1922, p. 262.

144 Ibid., p. 265.

145 *SI*, p. 258, l. 22.

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earlier times, they appear to have a tribal republic like that of the Yaudheyas and others with whom they are associated and who are differentiated in the inscription from the frontier kings and countries.[146] The Madras at this period probably migrated a little downwards and thus became the northern neighbours of the Yaudheyas.[147]

We find a later reference to the Madra country in Varāhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* which places it to the west of the Kuṇinda country and makes it the chief district of the Northern Division of India.[148] The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang visited the country and passed through its capital Saṅgala or Śākala (She-kie-lo) in the seventh century.[149]

5. The Vṛishṇis

Vṛishṇi is well known in ancient literature as the name of a people. Pāṇini speaks of the Andhaka-Vṛishṇi league.[150] Kauṭilya also mentions the Vṛishṇi *saṅgha*.[151] In the Purāṇas, the Vṛishṇis are represented as one of the sub-clans of the Sātvatas who were again one of the various septs into which the Yādava family was divided.[152]

A unique coin procured by Cunningham along with the coins of the Audumbaras is the sole numismatic remain of the Vṛishṇis, that we possess.[153] The coin is a round silver piece with biscriptual legends. On its obverse is a sort of *nandipada*-standard-in-railing (S 56) with an animal—half lion and half elephant—in front, and circular Brāhmī legend apparently reading—*Vṛishṇ (i) r-(ā) jajnāgaṇasya trātarasya.* The reverse has in pellet border an elaborate *chakra* of twelve spokes with slightly truncated circular Kharoshṭhī legend reading—*Vṛishṇirājaṇṇa (gaṇasa) tra (tarasa)*.

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146 Cf. *JASB* 1922, p. 265.

147 Cf. *HP*, Part I, p. 151.

148 Cf. *CASR*, XIV, p. 129 and *AGI*, p. 6. See *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* (XIV. 22 and 27).

149 Cf. *AGI*, pp. 206 ff.

150 Pāṇini, IV. 1. 114 and VI. 2. 34 : cf. *HP*, Part I, p. 39 and *PHAI*[6], p. 140.

151 *Arthaśāstra*, I. 6, 3 : cf. *HP*, Part I, p. 40 and n. 2.

152 *Matsyapurāṇa*, 43-44 ; *Vāyupurāṇa*, 94-96 ; and *Vishṇupurāṇa*, IV. 13. 1 : cf . *PHAI*[6] p. 138 and notes 4-5.

153 *CAI*, p. 70, Pl. IV. 15 ; also *BMC(AI)*, p. 281, Pl. XVI. 5. The Vṛishṇis are mentioned in the Morā well inscription of a son of *Mahākshatrapa* Rājuvula (*Ep. Ind.* XXIV, pp. 194 ff.).

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The interpretation of the somewhat baffling legend has been a matter of dispute amongst scholars. Cunningham read it as—*Vṛishṇi Rāja jñāgaṇasya bhubhārasya.* He took 'Vṛishṇi' as the name of a king whom he included in the list of Audumbara rulers, probably on the ground of provenance. Bergney corrected the legend as—*Vṛishṇi rājajñā gaṇasya trātārasya ;* and taking *rājajñā* as a corruption of *rājanyā,* 'belonging to the Kshatriya caste', translated the legend as : '[the coin] of him whose family are the Vṛishṇi Khsatriyas [or royal race]', or 'whose royal family are the Vṛishṇis', (*vṛishṇi-rājanyā-gaṇasya*). He has also given two other alternative explanations of the expression *rājajñā.*[154] Jayaswal takes Bergney's emendation of the word *rājajñā* as *rājañyā* and suggests that the coin was struck in the name of the *Rājanya* (i. e. the tribal chief) and *Gaṇa* of the Vṛishṇis (*Vṛishṇi-rājanya-gaṇasya*) jointly.[155] Allan practically adopts Bergney's reading of the Brāhmī legend with only a slight change in the expression *rājajñā* into *rājajño* ; and from the clue supplied by the Kharoshṭhī version *rājaṇṇa* he thinks that *rājajño* or *rājajñā* may be an engraver's mistake for *rājanya,* on the analogy of *rājño,* Prākrit *raṇṇo.* The scribe, he thinks, was more familiar with the Kharoshṭhī dialect and tried his best to give the Prākrit legend a Sanskritic appearance by transliterating the expressions *rājaṇṇa* and *tratarasa* on the Kharoshṭhī side respectively by *rājajño* (or *rājajñā,* i. e. *rājanya*) and *trātārasya* on the Brāhmī side. He thus translates the whole legend—*Vṛishṇi-rājajñagaṇasya trātārasya*—as 'of the protector of the tribe Vṛishṇirājanya' or more probably 'of the protector of the Rājanya [or warrior] tribe of Vṛishṇis.'[156]

S. K. Chakraborti, however, prefers Cunningham's reading of the first part of the legend, viz. *Vṛishṇirāja Jñāgaṇasya,* 'of Jñāgaṇa, the Vṛishṇi king', thus taking Jñāgaṇa as the name of the issuer.[157] D. C. Sircar also interprets the legend in the same way, and translates the complete legend—*Vṛishṇirāja Jñāgaṇasya trātārasya*—as '[This is the coin] of Jñāgaṇa, King of the Vṛishṇis, the Saviour.'[158]

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154 *JRAS* 1900, pp. 420-21.

155 *HP,* Part I, p. 40.

156 *BMC(AI),* pp. clvi-ii.

157 *NS,* XLVI, p N. 87.

158 This is kindly suggested by him in a letter dated 21. 9. 61.

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As to the location of the Vṛishṇis, they are connected with the Mathurā region by the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas which state that Kṛishṇa-Vāsudeva, a scion of the Vṛishṇi family, killed Kaṁsa who tried to make himself a tyrant at Mathurā by overpowering the Yādavas.[159] This story is also referred to by Patañjali and the *Ghaṭa Jātaka*, and the latter work confirms the Hindu tradition about the association of Kṛishṇa-Vāsudeva's family (i. e. the Vṛishṇis) with Mathurā.[160] The association of the Vṛishṇis with the Mathurā region is also indicated by the Morā well inscription of Rājuvula's son (see n. 153 above).

But this location of the Vṛishṇis is not supported by their coin. For, the provenance of this unique piece (which was classed along with the Audumbara coins by Cunningham), the similarity of its reverse design (*chakra*) with that on the silver didrachm of Kaulūta Vīrayaśas,[161] the nature of the royal epithet *tratara* (which is a Prākrit translation of Greek *Soter*), the use of silver, and, above all, the use of the Kharoshṭhī script—all these point to the Punjab region as the home of the Vṛishṇis who issued this coin. Allan locates them in the northern Punjab on the ground of its provenance.[162] The coin probably indicates the tract of land between the upper courses of the Ravi and the Beas (the Kangra valley), bordering the territories of the Audumbaras on the one hand, and the Kulūtas on the other.

It appears, therefore, that the Vṛishṇis who are represented by the coin under discussion, were not the same family of the tribe to which Kṛishṇa-Vāsudeva belonged, and who are referred to in the literary texts as dwelling at Mathurā. It is possible that the Vṛishṇis, like the Mālavas and the Śibis, originally lived in the Punjab and that afterwards a large section of the tribe might have migrated to the south and settled in Mathurā. H. C. Raychaudhuri points out that the Vṛishṇis are branded as *Vrātyas* in the Droṇaparvan of the *Mahābhārata* and that this may be due to the fact that 'they represent an earlier swarm of Aryans who were pushed southwards...by the Puru-Bharatas, the

159 *PHAI*,[6] pp. 140-41.

160 *Ghaṭa Jātaka*, No. 454 : cf. *PHAI*[6], p. 141 and n. 1.

161 Cf. *BMC(AI)*, p. 158, Pl. XVI. 4 (Vīrayaśas) and ibid., p. 281, Pl. XVI. 5 (Vṛishṇi).

162 Ibid., p. clvii.

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progenitors of the Kuru-Pañchālas.' He also refers in this connection to the defeat of the Sātvatas (the progenitors of the Vṛishṇis) by Bharata, as known from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[163] It is not unlikely, therefore, that the Vṛishṇis were driven from the Punjab to Mathurā in early times by the Puru-Bharatas. The Vṛishṇis who issued our coin probably represent the remnants of the tribe in the Punjab.

A later migration of the Vṛishṇis from Mathurā to Dvārakā is known from the *Mahābhārata* and was also caused by the 'pressure from the Paurava line of Magadha (represented by Jarāsandha), and probably also from the Kurus.'[164] According to the *Mahābhārata*, the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and the Jātakas, the Vṛishṇis were finally overthrown due to their irreverent conduct towards Brāhmaṇas.[165] This statement does not, however, apply to the Vṛishṇis of our coin, who appear to have been overpowered by the Kushāṇas in the first century A. D., for the coin cannot be dated later than the first century B. C.

According to the interpretation of the legend by Bergney and others, the coin contains a reference to the *gaṇa* of the Vṛishṇis, while according to the other interpretation, it refers to Jñāgaṇa, the chief of the Vṛishṇi tribe. In the former case, the Vṛishṇi constitution should be taken as a *gaṇa*, like that of the Yaudheyas, while in the latter case, the Vṛishṇis should be classed along with the Audumbaras, Kulūtas, Kuṇindas and others who seem to have belonged to the so-called *rāja-śabdin* group of *saṅghas*.

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163 *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII. 5. 4. 21 : cf. *PHAI*[6], p. 139, n. 3 and p. 142.

164 *PHAI*[6], p. 142 ; also *GDAMI*[2], p. 58 (Dvāravati).

165 *Mahābhārata*, Maushalaparvan, I. 15-22 ; 2. 10 ; *Arthaśāstra*—ed. by R. Shama Sastri, 1919, p. 12 ; *Jātaka*—Eng. trans. IV, pp. 55-56, V, p. 138 : cf. *PHAI*[6], p. 142 and n. 1.

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Chapter X

THE AGRATYA, RĀJANYA, TRIGARTA AND VEMAKI JANAPADAS

1. The Agratya (Agācha) Janapada of Agrodaka (Agodaka)

There are some round copper coins in the British Museum, which Allan describes as 'a puzzling group of coins' and classifies under 'uncertain' ones.[1] These coins were obtained by Rodgers at Barwalla in the Hissar District of the Punjab. They fall into two classes according to the following obverse legends written in Brāhmī:

(1) *Agodakā Agācha-janapadasa*, and

(2) *Agācha-mitapadābhisha*[*yana*].

Coins of both the classes bear on the obverse a tree-in-railing, but their reverse designs vary. Coins of Class I have either a 'lion-on-hill' or 'Lakshmī standing with lotus in hand', while those of Class II bear a 'bull' or a 'lion-on-hill'.

Fifty-one more coins, 'mostly rectangular', bearing the legend of Class I were later on obtained from the excavations at Agroha, a few miles west from Barwalla and situated in the same district. These coins also have a 'tree-in-railing' on the obverse and 'bull, lion and in three instances composite animals' on the reverse.[2] Allan has also listed a square coin of Class I bearing a 'lion-on-hill' on the reverse.[3]

The legend on the coins of Class I reveals that these were the issues of a *janapada*, and their provenance suggests that this *janapada* was situated in the Hissar District. The Agroha coins were found 'in the same square and at the same depth' as that which yielded four coins of the Indo-Greek rulers, Antialcidas, Apollodotus, Strato and Amyntas.[4] This fact possibly indicates that this *janapada* was established towards the latter part of the Indo-Greek rule in North-Western India, about the end of the second century B. C.

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1 *BMC*(*AI*), pp. clvii ff. and 282 f., Nos. 22-29.

2 *MASI*, No. 61 (1952), p. 5.

3 *BMC*(*AI*), pp. cliii and 279, No. 1.

4 *MASI*, No. 61, p. 5.

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As to the nature of the legend, *Agodakā Agācha-janapadasa*, K. N. Dikshit points out that it is analogous to that on the Śibi coins, *Majhamikāya Śibi-janapadasa*, i.e. '[the coin] of the *janapada* of the Śibis [issued] from Madhyamikā'.[5] Just as Majhamikā or Madhyamikā refers to the locality and Śibi to the name of the tribe who dwelt there and who gave their name to the *janapada*, here also 'Agodaka' seems to refer to the place-name and 'Agācha' to the name of the people who lived there and after whom the *janapada* was named.

According to M. J. Przyluski, the name Agodaka (or Aggodaka) is the Prākrit form of 'Agroda' or 'Agrodaka', the name of a known town which was situated between Śākala (Sialkot) and Rohītaka (Rohtak), and which he identified with modern Agroha, 13 miles north-west of Hissar.[6] This identification is supported by the evidence of the coins excavated from Agroha, the antiquity of which is proclaimed by 'a series of rolling mounds of varying heights' occupying about 650 acres of land towards the north-west of the modern village of that name.[7] Taking the component 'Agra' of *Agra+udaka* as 'foremost', L. D. Barnett explains the name 'Agrodaka' as denoting 'place of foremost waters' and traces the name of its modern counterpart Agroha from a Prākrit *Agga-rohaya*, meaning 'foremost bank', from Sanskrit *Agra-rodhaka*. He again points out that *rohi* also denotes 'the bed of a stream or the stream itself' and that *rohā* in the place-name *Agrohā* 'may have practically meant a stream, and thus Agroha would be an almost exact equivalent of Aggodaka'.[8]

Panna Lall, however, takes the component 'Agra' as the name of a tribe from which the name of the place Agrodaka is derived and thinks that the present-day Agrawals who regard Agroha as their original home, are the descendants of the Agra tribe.[9] Tradition, however, connects the name Agroha

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5 *PNSI* 1939, p. 9.

6 *Jour. Asiatique*, 1926, pp. 16 ff.

7 *MASI*, No. 61, p. 1.

8 *BSOS*, X, p. 277.

9 *PNSI* 1940, p. 8 (Presidential address by Panna Lall). P. L. Gupta tries to show that 'Agra' as the name of a tribe occurs in Pāṇini (IV. 1. 132.). But the word occurring there is 'Agrāyaṇa', not 'Agra'. He interprets 'Agrodaka' as

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with 'Rājā Agra', who is believed to have lived in the ruined fort on the top of the mound at Agroha, although the fort was actually built by Dewan Nannomal who was an Agrawal by caste and was in the employ of Rājā Amar Singh of Patiala (A. D. 1765-81).[10]

Allan suggests that Agodaka or Aṅgodraka may represent another claimant for the identification with the Oxydrakai of the Greeks.[11] M. J. Przyluski, however, identifies Agrodaka with Aggaḷapura, a town of the Punjab region, mentioned in the *Vinayapiṭaka*.[12] And on this suggestion, L. D. Barnett derives the word 'Aggaḷa' from *Agga* (Skt. *Agra*) and believes that Aggaḷapura signifies the 'town of the Aggaḷas' and that here Aggaḷa is synonymous with *Aggācha janapada*. Moreover, he identifies the 'Aggaḷas' with the 'Agalasseis' who, according to Diodorus, were a Punjab tribe and dwelt in the neighbourhood of the Siboi, i. e. the Śibis of the Jhang District,[13] and who, according to Quintus Curtius, had a great fight with Alexander's army.[14] But since Agroha (in the Hissar District) is far separated from Jhang, the identification of the 'Agalasseis' with the 'Agāchas' seems to be doubtful. H. L. Srivastava identifies Agroha with 'Agara' of Ptolemy and 'Agrah' of Ziau'-d-Dīn Baranī and Shams-i-Sirāj Afif.[15]

It seems plausible that (on the analogy of the coin-legend of the Śibis) the name 'Agācha' is derived from that of a tribe, but its original Sanskrit form and its identification are a point of dispute. Allan thinks that it might have been derived from

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signifying 'tank of the Agras' and thinks that the existence of the ruin of a big tank at Agroha with a traditional story supports its ancient name Agrodaka (see *JNSI*, IV, p. 52).

10 *MASI*, No 61, p. 1.

11 *BMC*(*AI*), p. clviii. The Oxydrakai are generally identified with the Kshudrakas : see McCrindle, *IIA*, p. 350.

12 *Jour. Asiatique*, 1926, pp. 16 ff.

13 *BSOS*, X, pp. 280-82 ; Diodorus, xvii, 96 : cf. McCrindle, *IIA*, p. 285.

14 Q. Curtius, ix. 4 : cf. McCrindle, *IIA*, p. 232. P. L. Gupta thinks that the legends among the Agrawal community of a struggle between Alexander and the Agroha people supports the identification of 'Agalasseis' with the Agroha people or the 'Agāchas' of coins (see *JNSI*, IV, pp. 52-53). McCrindle, however, identifies the Agalasseis with the Ārjunāyanas : see *IIA*, p. 367.

15 *MASI*, No. 61, p. 1.

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Sanskrit *Agastya*,[16] while K. N. Dikshit suggests *Agatya*, *Agastya* or *Aṅgatya* as the Sanskrit original.[17] L. D. Barnett traces back Agācha to a hypothetical Sanskrit *Agrā-tya* or *Agrāt-tya*, or to both, and points out that "in order to make adjectives of place in Skt. the affix-*tya*, is added to a considerable number of adverbs of place, including *dakshiṇa*..., and *paśchāt*..., whence have arisen *dākshiṇātya*, 'dwelling in the south', and *pāśchātya*, 'dwelling in the west'..." According to him, both *Agrātya* and *Agrāttya* would become in Prākrit *Aggācha*, or *Aggāchcha*, spelt on our coins as 'Agācha'.[18] The *Mahābhārata* mentions a people called 'Āgreyas' who dwelt in the neighbourhood of some Punjab tribes, viz. the Bhadras, Rohītakas and Mālavas, who were defeated by Karṇa during his western expedition.[19] According to P. L. Gupta, the name 'Āgreya' is derived from 'Agra' and is corrupted into Prākrit 'Agācha' of our coins; he thus identifies the 'Agāchas' with the 'Āgreyas' of the *Mahābhārata*.[20]

D. C. Sircar, like L. D. Barnett, is of opinion that *Agācha* is derived from *Agratya* meaning 'the people of Agra' (i.e. Āgreya). He derives the Prākrit form Agodakā from Sanskrit *Agrodakāt*, i. e. 'from Agrodaka'.[21] The legend *Agodakā-Agācha-janapadasa* may, therefore, be Sanskritized as *Agrodakāt Agratya* (or *Āgreya*)-*janapadasya*, meaning '[the coin] of the *janapada* of the Agratyas (or the Āgreyas), [issued] from Agrodaka.'

The legend on the coins of Class II, read by Allan as *Agācha-mitrapad-ābhishayānā*, calls for some explanation. It has been emended as *Agācha-mitrapad-ābhishṭhāyinaṁ* or *oābhishṭhāyinaḥ* by L. D. Barnett who shows that here the term *mitrapada* occurs in place of *janapada*, while the name of the place, viz. 'Agrodaka', is absent. He translates *mitrapada* as an 'allied state', and thus takes the legend to denote 'the allied state of the Aggāchas'.[22] Przyluski has pointed out how the tribal

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16 *BMC*(*AI*), p. clviii.

17 *PNSI* 1939, p 10.

18 *BSOS*, X, p. 278.

19 *Mahābhārata*, III, 255. 20; cf. *JNSI*, IV, p. 52, n. 3.

20 *JNSI*, IV, p. 52. According to P. L. Gupta, *Āgreya* first became *Agajja* (Skt. suffix *eya* being changed into *jja*) and then *Agāchcha* or *Agācha* (Pkt. *chch* and *jja* being interchangeable); ibid., pp. 53-54.

21 He kindly communicated this view in a letter dated 21. 9. 61.

22 *BSOS*, X, 279.

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states of the Punjab often formed themselves into confederations or leagues. One such league was formed by the Śālvas,[23] and as the Śālvas dwelt on the Jumna which flows some 70 miles due east from Barwalla, the find-spot of the *Agācha* coins, Barnett suggests that the Aggāchas might have been one of the members of the Śālva league.[24] The Śālvas have, however, left no traces of their political existence. Barnett alternatively suggests that the *Agāchas* might have formed league with their neighbours, the Śibis.

D. C. Sircar, however, interprets the legend in another way. He takes it as *Agāchamitra-pad-ābhishṭhāyināṁ*, meaning '[this is the coin of the people] living at the feet of [the god] *Agratyamitra*'. He suggests that 'Agratyamitra' which literally means 'the friend of the Agratyas' might refer to the tutelary deity of the Agratyas, who was probably worshipped at Agrodaka, the home or headquarters of the Agratyas.[25] According to this interpretation, the coins of Class II may probably be compared with the 'Brahmaṇyadeva' coins of the Yaudheyas or the 'Chhatreśvara' coins of the Kuṇindas.

From the above study we may gather this much that about the latter part of the second century B. C., a Punjab tribe called Agācha (Agratya or Āgreya) established their political independence. They seem to have had a sort of republican (*jānapada*) government and had their headquarters at Agrodaka, identified with modern Agroha in the Hissar District of the Punjab. The name of the tribe is probably mentioned in different forms in different literary texts, like the works of Alexander's historians, the *Mahābhārata*, etc. They soon disappeared from the political arena and their coinage ceased to be issued. They might have fallen a prey to the onslaughts of the Śakas or the Kushāṇas, or probably they were amalgamated

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23 *Jour. Asiatique*, 1926, pp 31 ff.

24 *BSOS*, X, p. 280.

25 This interpretation is kindly communicated to me in a letter dated 25.9.61. Jai Prakash suggests that 'Agāchamitra' was the full name of the tribe (*JNSI*, XXVII, p. 125, n. 2). He interprets the legend on the coins of Class II (*Agāchamitrapad-ābhishṭhāyināṁ*) as referring to the issues of an unknown people who called themselves either as prostrating on the feet of the Agāchamitras or as friends prostrating on the feet of the Agāchas (ibid., p. 126).

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with their mighty neighbours, the Yaudheyas, whose later territories (which, as we have seen above, extended from Bahawalpur to Bharatpur) appear to have included the Hissar District.

2. The Rājanya Janapada

Earlier scholars like Cunningham and Rapson did not take the Rājanyas as a distinct tribe because of the wrong reading of the legend on the Rājanya coins as *Rājña janapadasa*.[26] Cunningham suggested that the legend referred to the 'Royal Country' or "the Rājput Country, the Rajasthan of Tod, and the Rajwāra of Boileau, and that the people may perhaps be the *Chatrīaioi* of Ptolemy".[27] Smith first pointed out that the initial word is not *rājña* but *rājaña* (Skt. *Rājanya*), which was taken by him as an equivalent for *Kshatriya*, the modern Rajput.[28] Rapson accepted Smith's reading of *Rājaña*, and like him equated it with Kshatriya.[29] But, as Jayaswal has pointed out, Rājanya is the proper name of a distinct political people, after whom their *janapada* or country was named.[30]

The Rājanyas as a tribe are known from literature. They are included in the list of *saṅghas* other than the *āyudhajīvin* by Pāṇini.[31] They are also referred to by Kātyāyana and Patañjali.[32] The Sabhāparvan (Ch.LII) of the *Mahābhārata* as well as the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* mentions them.[33] Even Varāhamihira includes them amongst the peoples of the north, viz. the Gandhāras, Yaudheyas and others.[34]

The Rājanya coins are of two series—one with Kharoshṭhī legend[35] and the other with Brāhmī legend[36]—both of identical types. They bear on the obverse the figure of a deity, identified

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26 Cunningham, *CASR*, XIV, p. 151, and *CAI*, p. 89; Rapson, *IC*, p. 12, Sec. 47.
27 *CASR*, XIV, p. 151.
28 *IMC*, p. 164.
29 *CHI*, p. 528.
30 *HP*, Part I, p. 158.
31 Cf. ibid., p 39 (Pāṇini, IV. 2. 53).
32 Ibid., p. 158.
33 Cf. ibid., p. 155; *BMC*(*AI*), p. cxxiii; and *Mārk. P.*, p. 380 and note.
34 *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, XIV. 28; *Ind.Ant.*, XXII, p. 182.
35 *BMC*(*AI*), p. 211, Pl XXIX. 13.
36 Ibid., p. 210, Pl, XXIX. 15.

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with Lakshmī, standing with a lotus in the uplifted right hand (somewhat resembling the standing figure on the Mathurā coins), and on the reverse a bull standing to left within a rayed circle. The legend—either in Brāhmī or in Kharoshṭhī—as occurring on the obverse reads : *Rājaña janapadasa* ('of the Rājanya *janapada*'). Two other rare types with undecipherable legends are also attributed to the Rājanyas ;[37] but the attribution is doubtful.

Cunningham classed the Rājanya coins along with the Mathurā series as they are occasionally procurable in that city.[38] The similarity of types between the Rājanya and the Mathurā coinages led Smith to locate the Rājanya country near about Mathurā ; he suggested the (former) Dholepur state as the home of the Rājanyas.[39] Rapson also ascribed the Rājanya coins to the same region as those of the Ārjunāyanas and the kings of Mathurā.[40] But both Jayaswal and Allan located the Rājanyas in the Hoshiarpur District of the Punjab, as most of their coins came from that area.[41] This view seems to be the more probable one, as the Rājanyas are enumerated amongst the tribes of the north along with the Yaudheyas and others in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* as well. The most important evidence regarding the location of the Rājanyas in the Punjab region appears, however, to be the use of the Kharoshṭhī script on their coins, for Kharoshṭhī is not known to have been used in coin-legends in areas east of the Punjab. The presence of the Rājanya coins in Mathurā is not inexplicable in view of the fact that Mathurā was a great mart for trade and commerce, where coins of different places were brought. And, as Allan has pointed out, although there is some similarity between the figure of Lakshmī on the Rājanya coins and that on the Mathurā coins, there is no close similarity of fabric between the two.[42]

Allan does not think that the two series with Kharoshṭhī and Brāhmī legends were contemporary, as the provenance of

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37 Ibid., p. 212, Pl. XXIX. 11-12.

38 *CAI*, p. 89 ; Cunningham also points out that many of the coins included in his list of Mathurā coins were brought for sale from the surrounding country (ibid., p. 85).

39 *IMC*, pp. 164-65.

40 *CHI*, p. 528.

41 Jayaswal, *HP*, Part I, p. 159 ; Allan *BMC*(*AI*), p. cxxiii.

42 *BMC*(*AI*), p. cxxiii.

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both the series is the same. He dates the coins with the Kharoshṭhī legends about the second century B.C. and those with Brāhmī legends about the first century B.C.[43] But D.C. Sircar assigns both the series to the latter half of the first century B.C.[44]

As suggested by the coins of the Punjab States, viz. those of the Audumbaras, Kulūtas, Kuṇindas and Vṛishṇis, the adoption of the Kharoshṭhī script on the indigenous issues seems to be characteristic of the first century B.C., when it was popularized after its long use by the Indo-Greek rulers on their coins. The Rājanya coins with Kharoshṭhī legends, therefore, do not appear to have been issued earlier than the first half of the first century B.C. And as the coins with Brāhmī legends are generally assigned to the first century B.C., the two series with Kharoshṭhī and Brāhmī legends may not be much separated in time and may even be contemporary issues. Instead of using the Kharoshṭhī and Brāhmī alphabets on the obverse and reverse of the same coin, the Rājanyas might have issued two simultaneous series of coins—one with Kharoshṭhī legend and another with Brāhmī legend.[45]

It thus appears that the Rājanya *janapada* as a political unit came into being sometime in the first century B. C., during the declining power of the Indo-Greeks. And, since Rājanya coins of a later period are not known, it may be assumed that the Rājanyas lost their independence after a short while with the advent of the Indo-Parthians or the Kushāṇas about the first century A. D.

3. The Trigarta Janapada

The Trigarta people are known from a number of literary texts. Their earliest mention occurs in the grammar of Pāṇini who includes the Trigarta-shashṭha along with the Yaudheyas and others in the list of the *āyudhajivin saṅghas*.[46] In the Sabhāparvan (Ch. LII) of the *Mahābhārata*, the Traigartas are

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43 Ibid.

44 *AIU*, p. 160, n. 5.

45 We may here cite a modern analogy. The coinage of Belgium consists of two simultaneous series, one bearing the legend in Flemish and the other in French.

46 Pāṇini, V. 3. 116-17. The names of the six Trigartas are : (1) Kauṇḍoparatha, (2) Dāṇḍaki, (3) Kaushṭaki, (4) Jālamāni, (5) Brāhmagupta, and (6) Jānaki. Cf. *HP*, Part I, p. 35 and *BMC(AI)*, p. cxxxix and n. 1.

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mentioned in association with the Yaudheyas, Rājanyas, Madras Śibis (of the Jhang District) and other peoples of the Punjab.[47] They are coupled with the Audumbaras and the Kulindas in the *Vishṇupurāṇa*,[48] while the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* includes them in the list of the (Himalayan) hill tribes, viz. the (Uttara) Kurus, the Khasas, the Dārvas and others.[49] They are mentioned in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* along with the Kulūtas and the Chīnas.[50] Hiuen Tsang refers to the Trigarta country under the name of Jālandhara (She-lan-t'o-lo) whence he proceeded to the Kulūta country.[51] The name of the Trigarta *janapada* occurs in the *Daśakumāracharita* (7th century A. D.).[52] Kalhaṇa in his *Rājataraṅginī* refers to a rājā of Trigarta who fled before the arms of Śaṅkaravarman (9th century A. D.).[53] Hemachandra makes Trigarta synonymous with Jālandhara.[54] An important evidence is furnished by the Chamba copper-plate inscription (1050 A. D.) of Somavarmadeva and Āsaṭadeva, which mentions a king of Trigarta along with the Kulūta king as a friend, and presumably a neighbour of Sāhilla, the founder of the Chamba line.[55]

Cunningham locates Trigartadeśa in the country lying between the Ravi and the Sutlej and suggests that it denoted the 'land watered by three rivers'—the Ravi, Beas and Sutlej.[56] From the literary evidences it is apparent that Trigarta was identical with Jālandhara.

The only coin known of the Traigartas is a square copper

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47 The Traigartas are placed in Rajasthan (Maru) in the Sabhāparvan (Ch. XXXII), where they are said to be conquered by Nakula along with the Śibis and Mālavas. Cf. *HP*, Part I, p. 155 , and *BMC(AI)*, p. cxl and n. 1. For other references of the *Mahābhārata*, see *Mārk. P.*, p. 347, note.

48 Cf. *CASR*, XIV, p. 116.

49 *Mārk. P.*, pp. 346-47. For other Purāṇas, see *GAMI*, p .37, n, 1.

50 *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, XIV, 25 ; XVI. 20 ; cf. *BMC(AI)*, p. cxl.

51 Cf. *JRAS* 1900, pp. 530 and 540.

52 Bk. VI, p. 216 of the Bombay edition (Nirnaya Sagar Press), 1906 ; cf. *BMC(AI)*, p. cxl, n. 3.

53 Cf. *CASR*, V, p. 149.

54 Cf. *Jālandharāstrigarttāḥsyuḥ* : *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, IV 24. cf. *AGI*, p. 683.

55 *Ind. Ant.*, XVII, pp. 7 ff.

56 *CASR*, V, p. 148. Cunningham includes Kangra or Katoch also within the territory of the Traigartas : ibid., II, p. 16 ; XIV, p. 116 ; and *AGI*, p. 156.

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piece bearing on the obverse three small symbols (S 57, S 58 and S 59) in the centre with the Brāhmī legend *Trakata ja-* above and *napadasa* below, and on the reverse a four-tiered mountain (?) with traces of Kharoshṭhī legend around.[57] The coin is assigned by Allan to the first half of the second century B. C. on palaeographic grounds.[58] But the traces of Kharoshṭhī legend on the reverse suggests a date not earlier than the first half of the first century B. C., before which period the Kharoshṭhī script does not appear on indigenous coins. The Trigarta *janapada*, like the *janapada* of the Rājanyas, seems to have attained political importance only for a short while after the decline of the Indo-Greeks. The *rājās* of Trigarta, who are mentioned long afterwards, appear to be only tributary chiefs.[59]

4. The Vemaki Janapada

Cunningham included in his list of Audumbara coins a silver piece of king Rudravarman who calls himself a *Vamaki* or *Vaimaki*. It bears on the obverse the figure of an elephant to right with a trident-battle-axe in front and the circular Brāhmī legend : (X) *Rājñ[o] Vamakisa Rudavarmasa vijayaka*, and on the reverse the figure of a bull to right with lotus in front and the Kharoshṭhī legend in two parts : (above) *Raña Vamakisa* (below) *Rudavamasa vijayaya*.[60] D. C. Sircar, however, makes a slight emendation in the legend and reads *vijayata* or *vijayato* in place of *vijayaya* or *vijayaka*.[61] There is another square copper coin which depicts on the obverse an elephant to right with the *nandipada* symbol (S 33) behind and the Brāhmī legend,

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57 *BMC(AI)*, p. 212, Pl. XXIX. 10.

58 Ibid,. p. cxl.

59 Cunningham thinks that 'their early position under the Indo-Scythians was that of tributaries, similar to their later position under the Muhammedan emperors of Delhi'. According to him, the extent of the Trigarta territory depended upon the powers of their neighbours. Whenever there was a weak neighbour, the Traigartas took the opportunity to siege their stronghold of Kot-Kangra and re-assert their independence ; cf. *CASR*, V, p. 149.

60 *CAI*, p. 68, Pl. IV. 6 ; also *BMC(AI)*, p. 125, Pl. XIV. 13. Cf. *JRAS* 1900, p. 429, n 2 regarding the form *Vemaki* for *Vaimaki*.

61 *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 7.

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V-mak—napapasa, and on the reverse a bull to left with *nandipada* (S 33) and *svastika* (S 30) above.[62] The legend of the coin seems to refer to a *janapada* called Vemaki and the coin is connected by types with the silver piece of Vaimaki Rudravarman. Vemaki appears, therefore, to be the name of the tribe to which Rudravarman belonged and after whom the *janapada* was named.

Rapson observed that 'a people of this name seems not to be known from any other source',[63] while Allan suggested that the Vaimakis might be 'an otherwise unknown family of the Audumbaras.[64] R. C. Kar has, however, pointed out that a tribe called 'Vaiyāmaka' is mentioned in the Sabhāparvan (Ch. LII) of the *Mahābhārata* along with the Audumbaras and other tribes of the Himalayan region like the Dārvas, Kāshmīras, and Traigartas.[65] He has shown again that Bhaṭṭa Utpala, the commentator of the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* also refers to a tribe named 'Vaimaka' in the North-Eastern Division of India in association with the Kāshmīras, Daradas, Darvābhisāras and others.[66] But the 'Vaiyāmakas' of the *Mahābhārata* may not be the same as the 'Vaimakis' of the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, although the latter may be identical with the Vaimakis of our coins. D. C. Sircar shows that Vemaka is the name of a sage mentioned in the *Harivaṁśa* (III, I, 14-15) and *Brahmapurāṇa* (13, 136-137) and that the "clan-name Vaimaki is derived not from the name Vimaki but from Vemaka through the intermediate form Vaimaka..."[67]

The literary references suggest that the Vaimakis are to be located in the neighbourhood of the Audumbaras and the other northern tribes with whom they are associated. This is also supported by the provenance of their coins which come from the north-eastern Punjab.[68] And it may be noted

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62 *BMC(AI)*, p. 280, Pl. XLV. 14.

63 *JRAS* 1900, p. 429, n. 2.

64 *BMC(AI)*, p. lxxxvi.

65 Cf. *IHQ*, XX, p. 60.

66 Ibid., p. 61.

67 *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 6.

68 The coin of Rudravarman was found along with the Audumbara coins 'in the Northern Punjab, beyond Lahore' (*CAI*, p. 66), while the Jānapada coin came from 'the Punjab, probably from the Hoshiarpur district : *BMC(AI)*, p. cliv.

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in this connection that Cunningham's classification of the coin of Rudravarman with those of the Audumbaras tends to show that the territories of the Vaimakis and the Audumbaras were adjacent.

We may refer here to the silver coins bearing the name of Mahādeva which are attributed by Cunningham, Allan and others to the Audumbaras.[69] We have suggested above (pp. 220-21) that these coins, being strikingly similar to the coin of Rudravarman, are rather to be attributed to the Vaimakis than to the Audumbaras. They are identical in type and fabric with the coin of Vaimaki Rudravarman, like which they also bear biscriptual legends :

Obv. (Above) *Bhagavata Mahādevasa* (below) *rājarāja* (in Brāhmī).
Rev. (Above) *Bhagavata Mahadevasa* (below) *rajaraña* (in Kharoshṭhī).

According to S. K. Chakrabortty, "the word *bhagavata* is generally applicable to gods, and the title 'rājarāja', 'the king of kings' is more applicable to a god than to the king of a small principality". On the analogy of the 'Brahmaṇyadeva' coins of the Yaudheyas and the 'Chhatreśvara' pieces of the Kuṇindas, he takes the legend on the silver coins as referring to god Mahādeva, and not to a ruler of that name, interpreting it as 'In the name of the Almighty Mahādeva, the king of kings'.[70] But Allan interprets *Bhagavatamahadevasa* as *Bhāgavata Mahādevasya*, 'Mahādeva, the worshipper of Bhagavat' (thus taking Mahādeva as the name of a ruler who was a devotee of Bhagavat or Vishṇu) and *rajaraña* as corresponding to Sanskrit *rājarājñaḥ* 'represented by *rājarāja* on the reverse, which is a puzzling form'.[71] D. C. Sircar, however, takes 'Mahādeva' as the name of the god and Sanskritizes the legend as *bhagavato mahādevasya rājarājasya*.[72]

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69 Cunningham, *CAI*, p. 68, Pl. IV, 5 ; and *BMC(AI)*, p. 123, Pl. XIV. 16.

70 *NS*, XLVI, p. N 73.

71 *BMC(AI)*, p. lxxxv. Ajaya Mitra Shastri, while differing with Allan in holding Mahādeva to be an Audumbara chief, agrees with him in taking the word *Mahādeva* as the name of a ruler who was a *bhāgavata*, meaning 'a devotee of Bhagavat' i. e. Vishṇu : *JNSI*, XXVII, pp. 88-89. His reading of the word *bhāgavata* is not, however, beyond doubt, since the letter *bh* does not show any *ā-matra* on the coin.

72 *AIU*, p. 161, n. 4.

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With these silver coins, again, may probably be associated two bronze coins having on the obverse a male figure holding a trident-battle-axe and the Brāhmī legend, *Bhagavata Mahādevasa*, and on the reverse a peculiar balance-like symbol (S 60).[73] The male figure, depicted as holding a trident-battle-axe, an attribute of Śiva or Mahādeva, appears to represent the god himself, in allusion to the issuer's name. The combination of the epithet and name 'Bhagavat Mahādeva', as well as the trident-battle-axe held by the deity may connect these coins with the silver pieces of Bhagavat Mahādeva.[74] If our suggestion about the attribution of the 'Mahādeva' coins is accepted, we may hold that the Vaimakis (like their neighbours, the Kuṇindas and Audumbaras) were worshippers of Śiva or Mahādeva, in whose name some of their silver and copper coins were issued.

Under the above circumstances we may take that the Vaimakis issued at least four series of coins :

1. Square copper coins in the name of their *janapada* ;
2. Round silver coins in the name of their chief Rudravarman who is called *rājan* and *Vaimaki* ;
3. Round silver coins in the name of their god Mahādeva entitled *rājarāja* ; and
4. Round copper pieces also in the name of Mahādeva.

Of these, the *jānapada* issues which are of copper, square in shape, and bear Brāhmī legend alone, do not appear to have any foreign influence on them and may, therefore, be dated earlier than the round silver coin of Rudravarman having a distinct foreign influence in its shape, fabric, metal, denomination as well as in the use of the Kharoshṭhī script. This coin is comparable to the Elephant-Bull silver coins of the Indo-Greek king Apollodotus I.[75] The coinage issued in the name of the god Mahādeva seems to be the latest of the Vaimaki issues, since the silver coins have for Mahādeva the title *rājarāja* ('king of kings'), in imitation of the Indo-Scythic rulers. The silver pieces, both of Rudravarman and of Mahādeva, being

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73 *JRAS* 1900, p. 112, Pl. fig. 12.
74 Cf. ibid., pp. 112-13.
75 See *PMC*, p. 40, Pl. IV. 231 for Apollodotus's coin.

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similar in style and fabric to the silver issues of Audumbara Dharaghosha, may be assigned to the same period, i. e. the second half of the first century B. C.,[76] while the *jānapada* coins, being somewhat earlier in date may be placed in the first half of that century.[77]

The Vaimakis, therefore, appear to be an ancient people of the north-eastern Punjab, who acquired political power about the beginning of the first century B. C. and established a tribal *janapada* in the vicinity of the Audumbara territory, like the Rājanya and Trigarta *janapadas*. Their chiefs were entitled *rājan* like those of the Audumbaras, Kulūtas and Kuṇindas, and Rudravarman who was one such Vaimaki chief appears to have been a contemporary of Audumbara Dharaghosha. At a later stage, probably during the critical period of Indo-Scythian incursions, the Vaimakis seem to have dedicated their state to their presiding deity Mahādeva, in the same way as their neighbours, the Kuṇindas and Yaudheyas dedicated their states to their respective national gods Chhatreśvara and Brahmaṇyadeva. Their coins of a later date are not known; apparently they soon lost their independence.

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76 For Dharaghosha's date see *BMC* (*AI*), p. lxxxv.

77 Allan places it in the first century B.C. : ibid., p. cliv.

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PART IV

THE TRIBAL STATES OF RAJASTHAN AND MADHYA PRADESH

NATURE OF THE RAJASTHAN STATES

While dealing with the tribes of Rajasthan we are confronted with the conflicting evidences of the literary and numismatic sources as to the location of at least two of them, viz. the Mālavas and the Śibis. They are mentioned by Alexander's historians as 'Malloi' and 'Siboi' and were amongst the most powerful tribes of the Punjab. In Ch. LII of the Sabhāparvan of the *Mahābhārata* also, they are mentioned together with the other Punjab tribes.[1] But in Ch. XXXII of the same *parvan* they are placed in Rajasthan (Maru), and the provenance of their coins also corroborates this location. How then are we to reconcile this anomalous position? Are we to locate the Mālavas and the Śibis in the Punjab or in Rajasthan?

Since the extant coins of the Mālavas and the Śibis are of a date later than the period of Alexander's invasion, it appears that both the tribes were originally the residents of the Punjab, but were later on forced by circumstances to migrate to Rajasthan. We need not assume that in such migrations all the members of the concerned tribes moved to their new settlements. It is likely that while major sections migrated to Rajasthan, at least some minor sections chose to remain in their original homes in the Punjab. Thus, the Mālavas and the Śibis, who are placed sometimes in the Punjab and sometimes in Rajasthan in literary texts, seem to represent two sections of the same people—one that remained in the Punjab and the other that migrated to Rajasthan.

One of the reasons for such tribal migrations seems to be the pressure of successive foreign invasions, beginning from the time of Alexander. The freedom-loving people of the Punjab were compelled to leave their fertile lands and seek safer places in the deserts of Rajasthan only for the sake of their liberty.[2] By the time we find them issuing coins in the names

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1 Cf. *HP*, Part I, p. 155.
2 Ibid., p. 154.

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of their respective republics, they were settled in their new homes in Rajasthan. Those who were left in the Punjab appear to have lost their political importance, since apart from some stray literary references to them, no trace of their later political activities in the Punjab is found.

Of the Rajasthan tribes, the Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas, Śibis and Uddehikas are represented by their coins, while the Maukharis of Baḍvā (Kotah District) are known only from their inscriptions of the post-Kushāṇa period. The legends on coins of these tribes often indicate the nature of their constitutions. The post-Kushāṇa coins of the Mālavas, like those of the Yaudheyas, refer to their state as a *gaṇa*, while an inscribed seal of about the second century B.C. discovered at Rairh in the Jaipur District bears the name of the *Mālava-janapada*.[3] Although the legend on the Ārjunāyana coins does not specify the nature of their government, it is comparable to that on the post-Kushāṇa coins of the Mālavas. The legend on the coins of the Śibis refers to the political centre of their *janapada* at Madhyamikā. The Uddehika coins were struck in the names of their chiefs, called 'Auddehaki', and are comparable in this respect to the issues of the Audumbaras, Kulūtas and Kuṇindas of the Punjab region.

The coinages of the Rajasthan states, excepting that of the Mālavas, ceased after the first century B.C. or A.D. The reason seems to be that they were subjugated by the Śakas who occupied the Sind valley by the first century B.C. and spread themselves towards Mathurā and Ujjain in the first two centuries of the Christian era. The Mālavas fought hard with the Śakas and emerged as a powerful people only after the decline of the Śakas and the Kushāṇas. The Ārjunāyanas, whose later coins are not known, probably retained their existence as a semi-independent power upto the time of Samudragupta in whose Allahabad *praśasti* they are mentioned along with the Mālavas and the Yaudheyas amongst the frontier tribes. The Śibis and the Uddehikas are no more heard of.

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3 As noted above (Part III : Introduction, p. 197), the case of the Mālavas also shows that a *janapada* might have a *gaṇa* form of government.

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CHAPTER XI

THE MĀLAVAS

Mālava is the name of a famous tribe which played an important part in the history of ancient India. According to the *Mahābhārata*, the hundred sons of the Madra king Aśvapati, the father of Sāvitrī, were known as 'Mālavas' after their mother Mālavī.[1] R. O. Douglas is of the opinion that 'Mālaya is the older form of the tribal name, by which the Mālavas were known during Alexander's time. For, he points out that 'Malloi' is the proper Greek transliteration of 'Mālaya', not of 'Mālava' which would give the form 'Malluoi'.[2] Accordingly, he takes the coins with the legend *Mala* and *Mālaya* to be the earliest, and suggests that 'Mala may be the name of some king named after the original founder of the tribe', and that *Mālaya* refers to 'the tribe of Mala'.[3] D. C. Sircar thinks that 'the name of the Mālavas, like that of the Malaya mountain range, is probably derived from the Dravidian word *malai*, meaning hill'.[4]

"In ancient Indian literature and inscriptions the term Mālava is applied to various communities and territories extending from the eastern Panjab to Ujjain."[5] Although the Mālavas are not mentioned by Pāṇini himself, the *Kāśikā* includes them among the *āyudhajīvin saṅghas* noted by Pāṇini.[6] Kātyāyana as well as Patañjali knew the Mālava-Kshudraka league.[7] And

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1 Cf. *PIHC* 1940, p. 98. Carlleyle says that, according to local tradition the Mālava state was founded by 'Rājā Machhakanda', the son of Māndhātā, by defeating the local people who were, in his opinion, Karkoṭa Nāgas. He believes that the great similarity of the Mālava coins with those of the Nāgas is thus accounted for : *CASR*, VI, pp. 162 ff.

2 *NS*, XXXVII, pp. N. 43-44. It may also be noted that the form of the tribe's name occurring in the Nāsik cave inscription (No. 10) of the time of Nahapāna (*SI*, p. 162) is 'Mālaya', not Mālava.

3 Ibid., p. N. 45.

4 *AIU*, p. 163. But since the Mālavas were originally a northern tribe, this view does not seem to be much convincing.

5 *IMC*, p. 161.

6 On Pāṇini, V. 3. 114 ; cf. *HP*, Part I, p. 34 and n. 2, and p. 37.

7 *HP*, Part I, p. 35 n. and p. 70.

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as already noted, in Ch. LII of the Sabhāparvan of the *Mahābhārata*, the Mālavas are located in the Punjab, while, in Ch. XXXII of the same *parvan*, they are placed in Rajasthan.[8] The *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* mentions the Mālavas along with the Punjab tribes, viz. the Trigartas, Madras, Gandhāras, Yaudheyas, Rājanyas and others.[9] The *Vishṇupurāṇa* seems to locate them in the Jaipur region ; for, according to it, the Mālavas lived along the Pāripātra mountains, which have been identified by Carlleyle with the Pathar range around Nāgar in the Jaipur District.[10] Varāhamihira classes the Mālavas with the peoples of the north.[11] The most important reference to the Mālavas is, however, made by the historians of Alexander, who call them the Malloi, whom Alexander met during his retreat.[12]

Carlleyle found thousands of Mālava coins at Nāgar or Karkoṭa Nāgar, a small fortified town within the territory of the Rājā of Uniyāra in the former Jaipur State. He also discovered there the remains of a city of high antiquity, which yielded 'the small green old coins in some places lying as thick as shells on the sea-shore'. Of the six thousand coins discovered there only thirty-five were of outside origin, the rest being of the Nāgar mintage.[13] Rairh in the Jaipur District has also yielded some Mālava coins as well as a lead stamp and seal of about the second century B.C. with the inscription—*Mālava-janapadasa*[14].

The Nāsik cave inscription (No.10) of the time of the Śaka Kshatrapa Nahapāna[15], which refers to the Mālavas as the opponents of the Uttamabhadras and their allies, the Śakas of Ujjain, indicates that they were all close neighbours, and thus

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8 Ibid., p 155.

9 *Mārk. P.*, p. 379 ; for other Purāṇas, see *GAMI*, p. 37, n. 1.

10 See *Vishṇupurāṇa*, translation by Wilson, p. 177 ; cf. *HP*, Part I, p. 153 and n. 1, also *CASR*, XIV, p. 150.

11 *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, XIV, 27 ; cf. *Ind. Ant.*, XXII. p. 184. Jayaswal thinks that Varāhamihira gives this location of the Mālavas, basing on older materials ; for, "Varāha-Mihira himself was living in Mālava, and to use so antiquated a datum shows that the real Mālavas had for some centuries ceased to exist" : *HP*, Part I, p. 153.

12 Arrian's *Anabasis*, VI. 4 ; cf. *IIA*, p. 137.

13 *CASR*, VI, pp. 162 ff.

14 *ER*, pp. 49 and 54, Pl. XXVI. 1-5 ; and *JNSI*, III, pp. 47 ff.

15 *SI*, p. 162.

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seems to corroborate the occupation of the Nāgar region by the Mālavas at that time. The order in which the Mālavas are mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta[16], before the Ārjunāyanas, Yaudheyas and Madrakas (who lived in the area comprising Northern Rajasthan and the Eastern Punjab), appears also to indicate Eastern Rajasthan as the home of the Mālavas of this period. A Nāgar inscription of a later date (V.S. 1043 = 986 A.D.) calls the place Mālavanagara and describes its prosperity.[17]

All these archaeological evidences thus go to show that the Mālavas of our period were occupying a limited area in Eastern Rajasthan and cannot therefore be identified either with the 'Malloi' of the Greeks who were then dwelling in the Punjab or with the better-known people of Avanti to which the Mālavas imparted their name. "The similarity of the coin-legends (of the Mālavas) to those of the Ārjunāyanas and Yaudheyas," says Allan, "suggests that these were not very remote from them and were probably their neighbours on the north while the resemblance of their coins to those of the Nāgas suggests that the latter were their neighbours on the east."[18]

Rapson, however, suggested that there might have been two peoples of the name of 'Mālava'—(1) the Mālava of the north represented by the Malloi of the Greek writers, by the coins having the inscription *Mālavānāṁ jaya*[*ḥ*], by the Malaya of the *Mudrārākshasa*, and by the *Mo-lo-so* (*Mo-lo-po*) of Hiuen Tsang, and (2) the better-known Mālava of the south called *Mo-lo-po* by Hiuen Tsang.[19] But as we have seen, the Mālava of our coins cannot be identified with the 'Malloi' of the Greeks.

It is possible that a large section of the Mālavas, if not the whole tribe, gradually retired from the Punjab before the foreign onslaughts even from the time of Alexander and settled in Eastern Rajasthan, where we find them at this period. Jayaswal thinks that the Mālavas migrated *via* Bhatinda in the Patiala State where they have left traces of their name in Mālwāī dialect extending from Ferozepur to Bhatinda.[20] As pointed

16 Ibid., p. 257.
17 Cf. *AIU*, p. 164, n. 2.
18 *BMC*(*AI*), p. cvii.
19 *JRAS* 1900, p. 5'2.
20 *HP*, Part I, p. 152.

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out by Douglas, some Mālava coins with legends to be read from right to left betray the influence of the Kharoshṭhī script which was prevalent in the north-west, and thus show that their issuers stayed in the Punjab before they migrated to Rajasthan.[21]

It thus appears that there are three stages in the history of the Mālavas—the first in the Punjab, the second in the eastern Rajasthan, and the third in the north-western part of Madhya Pradesh, where they finally settled and which is known as Malwa after them.[22] In the fourth century B.C. when Alexander met them, they formed a league with the Kshudrakas (or the Oxydrakai of the Greeks) and gave a very stubborn resistance to the Macedonian invader. Cunningham located the Malloi near Multan which he identified as their capital.[23] McCrindle also supports Cunningham in locating them in the Multan area. "The territory of the Malloi," he says, "was of great extent, comprehending a part of the Doab formed by the Akesines (Chenub) and the Hydraotes (Ravi), and extending, according to Arrian (*Indika*, c.iv), to the confluence of the Akesines and the Indus.[24] But Smith points out that the country of the Malloi extended 'along both banks of the Hydraotes (Ravi), from Shorkot on the south-west to Lahore on the north-east', including 'the greater part of the Jhang District and the north-western portion of the Montgomery District'. He makes Malloi the western neighbours of the Oxydrakai or the Kshudrakas who were occupying, according to him, the Kangra, Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur and Amritsar districts, and the southern neighbours of the Siboi or Śibis of the Jhang area.[25] According to Quintus Curtius, the Mālavas and Kshudrakas presented to Alexander 100 talents of 'white iron' (*ferri candidi*), which is taken by McCrindle to be 'steel' of that weight.[26] Cunningham,

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21 Cf. *NS*, XXXVII, p. N. 44. For the coins, see *IMC*, p. 173-74, Nos. 57 (Pl. XX. 20), 62 (Pl. XX. 22), 63 (Pl. XX. 23), and 70. D. C. Sircar, however, thinks that these coins are not the genuine issues of the Mālavas but later imitations (*JNSI*, XXIV, p. 2 and p. 3, n. 1).

22 Cf. *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 12 ; and *ABORI*, XIII, p. 218.

23 *CASR*, VI, p. 182.

24 *IIA*, pp. 351-52.

25 *JRAS* 1903, pp. 699-700.

26 Q. Curtius, IX. 8 : cf. McCrindle, *IIA*, pp. 252-52, and p. 252, n. 1.

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however, takes this 'white iron' to denote nickel coins. "Thus in his opinion nickel was employed for the purpose of currency by the Indian tribes Kshudrakas and Mālavas in the time of Alexander."[27] But, since no extant piece of such a currency has so far been discovered, it is difficult to accept Cunningham's interpretation.

With the extension of the Maurya power, however, the Mālavas probably came under the imperial sway; for they are not mentioned by Kauṭilya.[28] After the decline of the Maurya power, wave after wave of foreign invaders, beginning with the Greeks from Bactria, probably pushed a large section of the Mālavas southwards towards Rajasthan. Those who chose to remain in the Punjab seem to have lost their political autonomy; for they have left no evidence of their political activities there.[29]

The second and the most important chapter in the history of the Mālavas, with which we are concerned here, opens in the eastern Rajasthan. Coins issued by them in the name of their republic during their stay in this area bear testimony to the intermediate stage in the course of their migration from the Punjab to the region known as Malwa in Madhya Pradesh by the end of the second century B.C.; for, although Mālava coins of a date earlier than the first century B.C. are not known, the Rairh seal with the legend *Mālava-janapadasa* indicates their occupation of the Jaipur area about the second century B.C.

The coins of the Mālavas 'are among the most curious and enigmatical' in the vast range of Indian coinages.[30] They resemble the Nāga coins very closely in type, size and fabric.[31] They may be divided into two broad classes: Class I with the tribal name and Class II with short legends that 'are so many puzzles'.[32] Coins of Class I are again subdivided by

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27 Cf. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 144.

28 Cf. *HP*, Part I, p. 60. We hear no more of the Kshudrakas after Patañjali's mention of them (on Pāṇini, V, 3. 52); most probably they were fully amalgamated with the Mālavas during their migration from the Punjab to the eastern Rajasthan: cf. ibid., p. 152.

29 Cf. *JBORS*, XX, pp. 172-73.

30 Smith, *IMC*, p. 161.

31 Cf. *JRAS* 1897, p. 643.

32 Jayaswal, *HP*, Part I, p. 218.

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Smith into eight groups according to the reverse devices which are generally a vase, lion, bull, fantail peacock, king's head (?) and some other obscure designs.[33] The obverse is generally occupied by the legend, sometimes accompanied by a minor symbol like the tree-in-railing. The legend in Brāhmī varies from Prākrit to Sanskrit and is sometimes continued on the reverse. The following varieties of legends are noticed on the coins of Class I: (a) *Mala*, (b) *Malaya* or *Mālaya*, (c) *Malava* or *Mālava*, (d) *Mālava jaya*, (e) *Mālavanā jaya* and its variants, *Malavana jaya*, *Mālavaṇa jaya* or *Malavahṇa jaya*, (f) *Mālavānāṁ*, (g) *Malavagaṇasya*, (h) *Malava sujaya* and *Mālava gaṇasya jaya*.[34]

Coins of Class II, which do not bear the tribal name, closely resemble those of Class I, have generally similar types and are found in association with them.[35] That the coins of Class II were actually issued by the Mālavas is further proved by coin No. 70 of Smith's *Indian Museum Catalogue*, which has a two-line legend: (1) *Malava* and (2) *Majupa*.[36] Carlleyle found about forty names which he calls the names of kings on this class of coins[37], while Smith reads only twenty such names.[38] The names as noticed and arranged in an approximate chronological order by Smith are: (1) Bhapaṁyana, (2) Yama (or Maya ?), (3) (?) Majupa, (4) Mapojaya, (5) Mapaya, (6) Magajaśa, (7) Magaja, (8) Magojava, (9) Gojara, (10) Māśapa, (11) Mapaka, (12) Yama (II ?), (13) Pachha, (14) (?) Magachha, (15) Gajava, (16) Jāmaka, (17) Jamapaya, (18) Paya, (19) Mahārāya and (20) Maraja.

The date of the Mālava coins are variously given by various scholars. Carlleyle thought that they extended for a period of about five or six centuries upto the third or fourth century A.D., while Cunningham placed them between 250 B.C. and 250 A.D.[39] Rapson, on the other hand, holds that the initial date for these coins cannot be earlier than 150 B.C., but as

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33 *IMC*, pp. 170 ff.
34 Cf. ibid.; *NS*, XXXVII, pp. N. 45 ff.; and ibid., XLVI, pp. N. 79-80.
35 Cf. *BMC(AI)*, p. cvi.
36 *IMC*, p. 175, No. 70.
37 *CASR*, VI, p. 173.
38 *IMC*, pp. 163 and 174-77
39 *CASR*, VI, 174 (Carllayle), and ibid., p. 182 (Cunningham).

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to the coins with the legend *Mālavānāṁ jayaḥ*, he observes that "both the character of their inscriptions, and the fact that they are in fabric somewhat similar to the coins of the Nāgas of Padmāvatī, point to a date not earlier than the 5th century A.D."[40] But Smith does not think that any of the Mālava coins is as late as that date. "The legends of the earliest coins," he says, "are in the Brāhmī script of the second century B.C., while those of the latest may be assigned to the fourth century A.D. The cessation of the local coinage is adequately accounted for by Samudraguta's conquest of northern India about 330 A.D."[41] Allan agrees with Smith as to the latest limit but he is not inclined to place any of them earlier than the second century A.D., as 'the Brāhmī characters may be described as early Gupta.'[42] D. C. Sircar is, however, of the opinion that 'some of the Mālava coins may be assigned to the first century B.C., but most of them are later.'[43]

Now, the legends on some of the coins are in Prākrit (e.g. *Mālavaṇa jaya* and its variants), while some others are in Sanskrit (e.g. *Mālavānāṁ* or *Mālava-gaṇasya jayaḥ*). Coins with Prākrit legends are undoubtedly earlier than those with Sanskrit legends. And as Sanskrit began to appear in inscriptions about the beginning of the Christian era and asserted itself by the second century A. D.[44], coins with Prākrit legends may be placed about the first century B. C. Moreover, as pointed out by Douglas, there are some coins on which the (Brāhmī) legends are written from right to left under the influence of the Kharoshṭhī script, which was prevalent in the coin-legends of the Punjab states in the first century B. C. The earliest date of the Mālava coins may, therefore, be taken as the first century B. C. As to the latest limit, Smith

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40 Cf. *IC*, pp. 12-13 and *IMC*, p. 162.

41 *IMC*, p. 162. In a copy of the book, Smith himself corrected the date 330 to 380, i.e the date of the extension of the powers of Chandragupta II over that region.

42 *BMC(AI)*, p. cvi.

43 *AIU*, p. 165.

44 Cf. the Ghoshuṇḍi stone inscription of king Sarvatāta (c. 2nd half of the Ist century B.C.), Ayodhyā stone inscription of Dhanadeva (c. Ist century A.D.) and Junāgaṛh inscription of Rudradāman (150 A.D.); see *SI*, pp. 91, 96 and 169 respectively.

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seems to be right in putting it about the time of Chandra Gupta II's conquests in the latter half of the fourth century A. D. Jayaswal thought that coins of Class II succeeded those of Class I and represented the power which superseded the Mālavas.[45] But S. K. Chakrabortty suggested that the Mālava coins being too tiny to provide space for the names of both the tribe and the chief, two contemporary series were struck—one with the name of the tribe and the other with the names of chiefs.[46] According to Allan's dating also, the two series become contemporary to some extent.[47] This is also evident from the language and the palaeography of the legends of coins of Class II.

There has been a good deal of discussion about the interpretation of these peculiar names on the coins of Class II. From the fact that most of the names begin with the syllable *Ma*, Carlleyle suggests that the Mālavas were ruled by a dynasty or dynasties of 'Mās' or votaries of the goddess 'Mā', i.e. Lakshmī.[48] Smith says, "Very odd the names are, and evidently of foreign origin".[49] But Allan has pointed out that they cannot be taken as the names of some foreign rulers, since the dates of the coins would show that they are 'too late for the Sakas and too early for the Hūṇas'.[50] Jayaswal, on the other hand, takes the first syllable of these legends (i. e. *Ma*) as abbreviation of *Mahārāja* and the rest as the names of chiefs. Thus, according to him, *Ma-paya* would stand for *Mahārāja* Paya, *Ma-gaja* for *Mahārāja* Gaja, *Ma-sapa* for *Mahārāja* Sarpa, and so on.[51] But Allan is not inclined to accept this suggestion, since in none of these legends there is any trace of a genitive. Moreover, as he says, there is no instance of such a contraction.[52] On the suggestion of D. R. Bhandarkar, A. C. Banerji explains these legends as

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45 *HP*, Part I, p. 218.
46 *NS*, XLVI, p. N. 81.
47 Cf. *BMC(AI)*, p. cvi.
48 *CASR*, VI, p. 172.
49 *IMC*, p. 163.
50 *BMC(AI)*, p. cvi.
51 *HP*, Part I, p. 218.
52 *BMC(AI)*, p. cvii.

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abbreviated forms of the full legend *Mālavagaṇasya jayaḥ*. Thus, *Ma-ga-ja* is taken by him as an abbreviation of *Mālava-gaṇasya-jayaḥ*.[53] But all the legends cannot be explained in this way. Allan thinks that "they are not names but in most cases meaningless attempts to reproduce parts of *Mālavānāṁ jayaḥ*"[54]

D. C. Sircar, however, does not regard these coins as genuine issues of the Mālavas. "When the Mālavas were", says he, "no longer in a position to issue their own coins, local goldsmiths minted the imitation coins in order to meet the requirements of the people who were used to the Mālava coinage".[55] In other words he thinks, somewhat like Jayaswal, that the coins of Class II succeeded those of Class I and were issued by the local people after the decline of the political power of the Mālavas. But the Indian Museum coin No. 70 having a two-line legend, *Mālava/Majupa*, which apparently belonged to this class, connects this series with the Mālavas and therefore coins of this class cannot be later imitations. Again, no clear-cut chronological division can be made of the coins of the two classes. As we have seen, while some coins of Class I having Prākrit legends are very early, some others with pure Sanskrit legends like *Mālavagaṇasya jayaḥ* may be as late as the fourth century A. D. So far as we know, the Mālavas were immediately succeeded in this region by the Guptas, and there is hardly any time for the local people to issue imitation coins after the cessation of the power of the Mālavas. It is not conceivable that these coins were struck during the rule of the Guptas.

K. K. Das Gupta has put forward the suggestion that the peculiar legends on the coins of Class II refer to Mālava chiefs of non-Aryan origin.[56] Although the suggestion is attractive at the very outset, the difficulty is that the names of some Mālava chiefs known from the few inscriptions of the post-Kushāṇa period so far discovered do not look like non-Aryan. The Nāndsā *Yūpa* inscriptions of Kṛita year 282 (i.e. 224 A. D.) reveal the name of Nandisoma who performed

53 Cf. *ABORI*, XIII, p. 224.

54 *BMC(AI)*, p cvii.

55 *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 4, and ibid., XXVIII, pp. 204-5. For criticism of Dr. Sircar's views by K. K. Dasgupta see ibid., XXVIII, pp. 52 ff. and ibid., XXIX, pp. 79-80.

56 *PIHC* 1965 (Allahabad), pp. 56-57.

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Vedic sacrifices like the *Ekashashṭhirātra* and who claimed descent from the famous Īkshvāku family. The names of his forefathers, as given in the inscriptions, are also of purely Sanskritic origin.[57] Two other Mālava chiefs, viz. *Mahāsenāpati* Bhaṭṭisoma, and one whose name ends in *-vardhana* and who performed seven Soma sacrifices, are also known from their respective inscriptions.[58] The names do not show any resemblance with those on the coins of Class II and are far from being of a non-Aryan or foreign origin.

Any way, inspite of various suggestions made by different scholars, it has not yet been possible to solve satisfactorily the problem of the curious legends on the Mālava coins of Class II. The suggestion of their being imitations is plausible, but we cannot take them as later in date than the coins of Class I. It is, however, not unlikely that they were *contemporary imitations* by a sub-clan or sub-clans of the Mālavas issued from one or more obscure mints.[59] The illiterate die-cutters of such mint or mints might have made a confusion of the legends they were to execute on the tiny dies, and hence it is not intelligible if they wanted to reproduce parts of *Mālavānāṁ jayaḥ* or *Mālavagaṇasya jayaḥ* or tried to give us the names or nicknames of their chiefs.

The Mālava coins were unusually tiny pieces, the largest weighing 40.3 grains and the smallest only 1.7 grains, which "may claim the honour of being one of the smallest coins in the world".[60] As the coins are not found anywhere else, it is evident that they were confined to Nāgar and its immediate neighbourhood.[61] On the other hand, very few coins of outside

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57 See *Ep.Ind.*, XXVII, pp. 252 ff. We have, however, adopted the name of the Mālava chief as well as those of his predecessors as read by M. Venkataramayya, *IHQ*, XXIX, pp. 80 ff Cf. pp. 273-4 below.

58 Nāndsā inscription of Bhaṭṭisoma, *Ep.Ind.*, XXVII, p. 266 and Barnāla *Yūpa* inscription of Year 284, ibid., XXVI, pp. 118 ff.

59 It is curious that the Kshudrakas who are known to have formed a league with the Mālavas during Alexander's time (4th century B.C.) and are also mentioned by Kātyāyana and Patañjali (2nd century B.C.) are no more heard of (cf. notes 7 and 28 above). We do not know if they also migrated to Rajasthan along with the Mālavas with whom they were politically united, and were responsible for issuing these enigmatic coins in imitation of the regular Mālava issues.

60 *IMC*, p. 163.

61 Ibid.

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origin are found at Nāgar. These facts indicate that the Mālavas were a poor community on a low economic level, which had very little intercourse with the outside world. Their low-valued coins could only have been used in local markets.

The capital of the Mālavas in Rajasthan was Mālavanagara, identified with Karkoṭa Nāgar or only Nāgar, where Mālava coins were discovered. The Nāgar inscription of Vikrama Saṁvat 1043 (986 A.D.) shows that Nāgar in the Uniyāra area of the Tonk District was known even in early medieval period as Mālavanagara.[62] Carlleyle thinks that the name 'Karkoṭa Nāgar' probably had some connection with the Nāgas who were the south-eastern neighbours of the Mālavas.[63]

From the Nāsik cave inscription (No. 10) of the time of Nahapāna (about the beginning of the second century A.D.) we know that the Mālavas came into conflict with the Kshaharāta Khsatrapas of Western India by besieging the Uttamabhadras, allies of the Śakas.[64] These Uttamabhadras are identified by Altekar with the Utsavasaṅketas mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* in connection with the conquests of Nakula and are located near the Pushkara forest, in the Ajmer region, close to the territory of the Mālavas.[65] D. C. Sircar, however, suggests the identification of the Uttamabhadras with the Uttamarṇas or Uttamakas of the Purāṇas.[66] The Nāsik inscription informs us that Nahapāna deputed his son-in-law Ushavadāta (Ṛishabhadatta) to crush the power of the Mālavas who fled away at the very sound of his approach, and were made prisoners of the Uttamabhadras. This shows that by the beginning of the second century A. D. the Mālavas had grown powerful enough to come into conflict with the neighbouring Śakas. The consequent defeat of the Mālavas by the Śaka Satrap seems to have put a stop to their further expansion southwards.

The death of Nahapāna was followed by the rise of the Śaka house of Chashṭana. And as Rudradāman (about 150

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62 Cf. *AIU*, p. 164 and note 2.

63 *CASR*, VI, p. 166.

64 *SI*, p. 162.

65 *PIHC* 1940, p. 99. The Utsavasaṅketas are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, Sabhāparvan, XXVI. 1025 : cf. *Mark.P.*, p. 319 n.

66 *GAMI*, p. 34 and n.

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A. D.) of that house claimed to have annexed Sindhu, Sauvīra, Maru and to have inflicted a signal defeat on the Yaudheyas,[67] the northern neighbours of the Mālavas, it appears likely that the Mālavas (who were then occupying the intermediate territory between those of the Yaudheyas and the Śakas) were also compelled to recognise the suzerainty of Rudradāman.

But the civil war that broke out in the Śaka kingdom soon after the death of Rudradāman's successor Dāmajada I about 175 A. D.[68] seems to have given the Mālavas an opportunity to reassert their independence. That they were able to retain their hard-won independence afterwards, at least upto the time of Samudragupta's conquests, is indicated by their mention along with the Ārjunāyanas and Yaudheyas in the Allahabad pillar inscription, amongst the frontier tribes that paid tributes to the Gupta monarch.

Two inscriptions dated in the Kṛita year 282 (224 A. D.), found incised on a sacrificial pillar standing in a lake at Nāndsā in the Udaipur District bear evidence to the reassertion of the Mālava power in the post-Kushāṇa period.[69] Both the inscriptions record the performance of a sacrifice called *Ekashashṭhirātra* by a Mālava chief whose name has been read as Nandisoma and who is called a Sogi, probably the name of a sub-clan of the Mālavas. His brilliant achievements are said to have recovered freedom and prosperity to the country of the Mālavas. Altekar thinks that the reference is to the success of the Mālava people chiefly against the Śakas. According to him, Saṅghadāman whose reign was of only about one year (222-23 A.D.) and whose death took place shortly before the erection of the Nāndsā *yūpa*, was probably the Śaka ruler defeated by the Mālava chief and that the *Ekashashṭhirātra* sacrifice was performed to commemorate the great victory alluded to in the inscriptions, against the Śaka ruler, which 'enabled him to win for himself and his country extensive wealth and prosperity.'[70] The epithet

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67 Cf. the Junāgaṛh inscription of Rudradāman I of Year 72 : see *SI*, p. 172.

68 Cf. *NHIP*, VI, pp. 48-49, and *AIU*, p. 186

69 Cf. A. S. Altekar, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, pp. 252 ff. and M. Venkataramayya, *IHQ*, XXIX, pp. 80 ff.

70 Cf. *Ep Ind.*, XXVII, p. 260, and *PIHC* 1940, p. 100.

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sva-śakti-guṇa-guru as applied to the Mālava chief seems to refer to his great victory and reminds us of the similar expression *svayamadhigata-mahākshatrapa-nāmnā* used by Rudradāman.[71]

The name of Nandisoma's father is given as Jayasoma and those of his grandfather and great-grandfather as Bhṛiguvardhana and Jayatsena respectively. It is supposed that the village Nāndsā was founded by Nandisoma himself and that it derived its name from him, Nāndsā being a corrupt form of Nandisomapura.[72] A third inscription at Nāndsā contains the name of another Mālava chief, *Mahāsenāpati* Bhaṭṭisoma.[73] As he is also called a Sogi, he probably belonged to the family of Nandisoma; but his relationship with the latter cannot be determined.

Another *yūpa* inscription from Barnāla in the Jaipur District is dated two years later than the Nāndsā *yūpa* (Kṛita year 284 or 226 A.D.).[74] It commemorates the performance of seven *Soma* sacrifices (*sapta-soma-saṁsthā*) by a king whose name ends in *-vardhana*. Jaipur District being the area where Mālava coins and the seal with the legend *Mālava-janapadasa* were found, it is likely that the king referred to in this inscription also belonged to the Mālava tribe. But this chief was of Sohartṛi *gotra*, was the son of a 'king' and himself adopted a royal title, unlike Nandisoma who called himself a Sogi and who had no regal or military title. He might have belonged to a different sub-clan of the Mālavas.

Mālava coins of the post-Kushāṇa period bearing legends like *Mālava-gaṇasya jayaḥ* also seem to refer to the victory of the Mālava republic. According to Smith's dating, coins with the names of Mapaka, Yama (II ?), Jāmaka, Paya, Mahārāya, Maraja, etc., may be assigned to this period.

We may get a rough idea about the extent of the territory occupied by the Mālavas in the post-Kushāṇa period from the find-spots of coins and inscriptions. Mālava coins of the third and fourth centuries A.D. are found in large numbers in the Jaipur area. The Nāsik cave inscription of Ushavadāta

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71 Cf. the Junāgaṛh inscription of Rudradāman : *SI*, p. 173, l. 15.

72 M. Venkataramayya, *IHQ*, XXIX, p. 83.

73 *Ep.Ind*, XXVII, p. 266.

74 Ibid., XXVI, pp. 118 ff.

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(No. 10) indicates that the Mālavas were then occupying an area adjacent to Lake Pushkara in Ajmer, i.e. the territory to its north. The Nāndsā *yūpa* inscriptions show that some portion of the Udaipur District was also included in the Mālava republic. Thus, the strip of land extending from Udaipur to Jaipur seems to be in the possession of the Mālavas.

Legends on some Mālava coins incidentally refer to the nature of the Mālava state as a *gaṇa*. In the Nāndsā inscription of Nandisoma also, the country is called *Mālava-gaṇa-vishaya*. This inscription shows that the Mālava-gaṇa, like the *gaṇa* of the Yaudheyas, was probably administered by chiefs whose office seems often to have been hereditary.[75]

We may conclude by saying a few words about the association of the name of the Mālavas with the so-called Vikrama era of 58 B. C.,[76] and its bearing on the further migration of the Mālavas from Rajasthan to Madhya Pradesh in the Gupta period. The expressions, *Mālavānāṁ gaṇa-sthitvā*,[77] *Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāt*,[78] or *Śrī-Mālava-gaṇ-āmnāte praśaste kṛita saṁjñite*,[79] all refer to the *gaṇa* of the Mālavas. These expressions were taken by Fleet as denoting 'by (the reckoning from) the tribal constitution of the Mālavas' or 'from (the establishment of) the supremacy of the tribal constitution of the Mālavas';[80] by Kielhorn as 'by, or according to, the reckoning of the Mālavas';[81] and by F. W. Thomas as 'according to the tradition of the Mālava tribal constitution.'[82] All these renderings imply that the

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75 From the fact that neither the Mālava chief (Nandisoma) nor any of his predecessors, whose names are recorded in the Nāndsā inscriptions, bore any royal or military title, Altekar thinks that "the republican traditions were still strong among the Mālavas, and no regal titles were permitted to their rulers even when they had established hereditary dynasties ruling at least for three generations" (*Ep.Ind.*, XXVII, p. 260). The Mālava (?) chief known from the Barnāla inscription, however, probably adopted a royal title and was also the son of a 'king'.

76 Fleet has identified the era used by the Mālavas with the Vikrama era : *CII*, III, pp. 66 ff.

77 Mandasor stone inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman, Years 493 and 529 : Ibid , p. 83, ll. 19 and 21.

78 Mandasor stone inscription of Yaśodharman Vishṇuvardhana, Year 589 : ibid., p. 154, l. 21.

79 Mandasor inscription of Naravarman, Year 461 : *Ind.Ant.*, XLII, p. 162.

80 *CII*, III, pp. 87 and 158.

81 *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, pp. 56-57.

82 *JRAS* 1914, p. 413.

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era 'dates from the foundation of the tribal independence of the Mālavas.'[83] But D. R. Bhandarkar has pointed out that the Mālavas had nothing to do with the actual foundation of the era and has taken the expressions to mean 'handed down traditionally by the Mālava tribe' or 'in accordance with the traditional usage of the Mālava tribe.'[84] Fleet has also ultimately accepted the interpretation made by Bhandarkar.[85] Moreover, the literary and archaeological evidences show that the Mālava republic was in existence long before the starting of the era of 58 B. C., and consequently the Mālavas cannot be held responsible for its foundation.

Now, as pointed out by D. C. Sircar, the earliest use of an era was made and popularised by the Scytho-Parthians, and the Mālavas were the earliest Indian people known to have used an era which was later on associated with their name.[86] That the so-called Mālava or Vikrama Saṁvat corresponds with the ancient reckoning of the Scytho-Parthians is proved by a number of their records dated in the era of 58 B. C.[87] It is, however, curious how the name of the Mālavas came to be associated with this system of reckoning. D. C. Sircar suggests that the Mālavas who originally lived in the Punjab where the Scytho-Parthian era was in use, probably carried it with them to Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh where they finally settled.[88] Just as the Kushāṇa era of 78 A. D. came to be known as the Śaka era due to its long use by the Śaka Satraps of Western India and not because it was founded by a Śaka king,[89] so also the era of 58 B. C. was probably connected with the name of the Mālavas as a result of its long use by them.

The earliest record of the Mālavas dated in this era is the Nāndsā *yūpa* inscription of Year 282 (224 A. D.). The era was then known as the Kṛita era. The word Kṛita is

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83 Cf. Ibid.

84 *Ind. Ant.*, XLII, pp. 162-63.

85 *JRAS* 1914, pp. 745 ff.

86 *AIU*, p. 125, n. 1.

87 See *SI*, Nos. 25, 27-28, and 32-36.

88 *AIU*, p, 125, n. 1. D. C. Sircar holds that the era originated with the accession of Vonones, the first independent Parthian ruler of Drangiana. For other views on the subject, see ibid., pp. 154 ff.

89 Cf. Rapson, *CHI*, p. 585, and *BMC* (*Andhra*), pp. cv-vi.

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explained by Fleet as 'fully complete'.[90] But, according to D. R. Bhandarkar, it "was invented by the people or astronomers for the purpose of reckoning years and was consequently originally known as Kṛita, which means 'made'."[91] Scholars like D. C. Sircar believe that the era used by the Mālavas 'came to be known as Kṛita probably after an illustrious Mālava leader of that name, who secured the independence of his tribe from foreign yoke.'[92] When we examine the list of inscriptions dated in the era of 58 B. C.,[93] we find that the name Kṛita was usually associated with it upto the fifth century A. D. (Year 480),[94] about which time it was first connected with the name 'Mālava' (Year 461).[95] From the eighth century to as late as the twelfth century it was called 'the era of the Mālava lords or lord' (*Mālaveśānām*[96] or *Mālav-eśa-gata-vatsara*),[97] or simply as *Mālava-kāla*.[98] They show, according to Kielhorn, that during this period, 'this era was by poets believed to be especially used by the princes and people of Mālava'.[99] Since about the eighth century (Year 794), however, the name 'Vikrama' came to be gradually associated with the Kṛita-Mālava era.[100]

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90 *CII*, III, pp. 74 ff. and 253 ff.

91 *Ind.Ant.*, XLII, p. 163.

92 *AIU*, p. 125 n. 1 and pp. 163-64. For an alternative suggestion of D. C. Sircar, see *SI*, pp. 288-89, n. 4 and *Ep.Ind.*, XXXIII, p. 152.

93 Cf. Kielhorn, "General Chronological List of Vikrama Dates", *Ind. Ant.*, XX, pp. 125 ff.

94 See the Gaṅgdhār stone inscription of Viśvavarman, *CII*, III. p. 75, l. 19; cf. Kielhorn's "List of Vikrama Dates", No. 2. The Mengthala (Sirohi District) inscription of Kṛita Year 894 is a later instance of the association of the name Kṛita with the era: see *JUPHS*, New Series, III, pp. 1 ff.

95. See Mandasor inscription of Naravarman: *Ind. Ant.*, XLII, p 162.

96 See the Kaṇaswa stone inscription of Śivagaṇa, Year 795: ibid. XIX, p. 59, l. 14; cf. Kielhorn's "List of Vikrama Dates", No. 7.

97 See the Menālgaṛh stone pillar inscription of the Chāhamāna Pṛithvirāja, Year 1226: see Kielhorn's *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 155, *Ep. Ind.*, V, App., p. 23, and cf. *JASB* 1886, p. 46.

98 See the fragmentary stone inscription at Gyāraspur, Year 836: *CASR*, X, p. 33; cf. Kielhorn's "List of Vikrama Dates", No. 14.

99 *Ind.Ant.*, XX, p. 404.

100 Dhiniki (former Okhamandal State, Kathiawar) inscription of Jāikadeva, Year 794: see Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 17, *Ep. Ind.*,

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The localities where the earliest inscriptions dated in the Kṛita-Mālava era are found[101] point incidentally to the area occupied by the Mālavas in the Gupta and the post-Gupta periods. The inscriptions are from : Nāndsā in the Udaipur District (Kṛita year 282), Barnāla in the Jaipur District (Kṛita year 284), Baḍvā in the Kotah District (Kṛita year 295), Bijaygaṛh in the Bharatpur District (Kṛita year 428), Gaṅgdhār in the former Jhālāwār State (Kṛita year 480), Nagarī in the Udaipur District (Kṛita year 481), Mandasor (Mālava years 461, 493, 524, 589), Kaṇaswa in the Kotah District (Mālava year 795), and Gyāraspur in the former Gwalior State (Mālava year 936).[102] It is thus seen that inscriptions dated in the Kṛita-Mālava era come from an area comprising the eastern part of Rajasthan and the adjoining portion of Madhya Pradesh. It is also apparent that by the year 461 or 403 A. D. (when the name Mālava is first associated with the era), the Mālavas had moved further southwards from Eastern Rajasthan and finally settled in Avanti (which included the modern Mandasor area), to which they imparted the name Mālava (i.e. Malwa). In the seventh century A. D. the Chinese pilgrims Hiuen Tsang referred to this area in Madhya Pradesh as *Mo-lo-po*.[103] Their name has survived not only in a province, but also in a Brāhmaṇa community called 'Mālavis', now Sanskritised as 'Mālaviya', as pointed out by Jayaswal.[104]

XIX, App., p. 4. But this inscription is thought to be forged by Bhagawanlal Indraji. The earliest definite association of the name 'Vikrama' to this era is, however, found in the Dholpur stone inscription of the Chāhamāna Chaṇḍamahāsena of the Year 898, in which it is used somewhat vaguely as 'the time called Vikrama' : ibid. XIV, p. 35, No. 57 ; cf. Kielhorn's "List of Vikrama Dates", No. 10. For the gradual connection of the name 'Vikrama' with the era, see ibid,, XX, p. 404, and cf. *AIU*, p. 125, n. 1, pp. 154 ff. and p. 164, n. 1.

101 Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, XX, pp. 401-04.

102 For Nāndsā and Barnāla inscriptions and Mandasor inscription of Year 461 see notes 69, 74 and 95 above. See for Baḍvā inscriptions *SI*, pp. 92 ff., for Nagari inscription, Bhandarkar's List, No. 5, and for Mandasor inscription of Year 524, ibid., No 7. For the rest see Kielhorn's "List of Vikrama Dates", *Ind. Ant.*. XX, pp. 125 f., Nos. 1, 2,3, 4, 7 and 14.

103 *AGI*, pp. 561 ff.

104 *HP*, Part I, p. 153.

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Chapter XII

THE ĀRJUNĀYANAS, MAUKHARIS, ŚIBIS AND UDDEHIKAS

1. The Ārjunāyanas

The Ārjunāyanas probably derived their name either from the Pāṇḍava prince Arjuna or from the Haihaya king of that name.[1] They are mentioned neither by Pāṇini nor by Patañjali, nor in the *Mahābhārata* ; but the *Gaṇapāṭha* seems to have included them at a later time in a group along with the Rājanyas.[2] McCrindle identifies the Ārjunāyanas with the Agalasseis of Diodorus, who had a great fight with Alexander during his retreat.[3] But it may be pointed out that the Agalasseis are placed by the Greek writers close to the Śibis of the Jhang area, whereas the Ārjunāyanas known from coins are located in Rajasthan. Varāhamihira places the Ārjunāyanas in the Northern Division, always in association with the Yaudheyas.[4] The most important evidence of the existence of the tribe as an independent political community is furnished by their coins as well as by the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, which couples them with the Mālavas, Yaudheyas, Madrakas and other frontier tribes.[5]

The Ārjunāyana coins are of the following two types :[6]

1. *Obv.* Bull to left on hill (?)
   Rev. Standing female figure (Lakshmī ?) between a sacrificial post to left and a tree-in-railing to right. Brāhmī legend : *A[r]junāyanāna.*
2. *Obv.* Elephant to right before tree-in-railing.
   Rev. Bull to right before *yūpa* or sacrificial post.
   Brāhmī legend : *A[r]jvnāyanāna jaya* (i.e. *Ārjunāyanānāṁ jayaḥ*).

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1 Cf. *HP*, Part I, p. 132 and *AIU*, p. 162. According to the Purāṇas, the Haihaya prince Arjuna Kārtavīrya ruled in the Anūpa country with his capital at Māhishmati : cf. *Mark. P.*, pp. 333, 344 and 371 notes.

2 *Gaṇapāṭha* on Pāṇini, IV. 1. 112 ; cf. *HP*, Part I, p. 154, and n. 1.

3 Diodorus, XVII. 96 ; cf. McCrindle, *IIA*, pp. 285 and 367.

4 *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, XIV. 25. They are mentioned in four other places : cf. *Ind. Ant.*, XXII, pp. 173, 194.

5 *SI*, p. 357, l. 22.

6 Type 1 : *BMC* (*AI*), p. 121, Pl. XIV. 10 ; Type 2 : ibid., Pl. XIV. 11 ; cf. *IMC*, p. 166, No. 2 Pl. XX. 10.

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While the figure (Lakshmī ?) on the reverse of Type 1 closely resembles that on the Mathurā or the Rājanya coins,[7] the object before the bull (S 65) on the reverse of Type 2 has a striking similarity with that which occurs before the bull (S 64) on the Yaudheya coins of Class 2.[8] The object before the bull has been variously described by different scholars. Rapson describes it as a 'sacrificial post within railing',[9] while Smith takes it as 'a 'railing with curved object rising from it.'[10] Allan is not sure of the object; he describes it as a *lingaṁ* (?), in connection with the Ārjunāyana coins,[11] but takes the similar object as 'a sacrificial post ? (*yūpa*)' on the Yaudheya coins.[12] J.N. Banerjea has, however, shown that the object is really a *yūpa* or a sacrificial post, and finds in the device 'bull before *yūpa*'—"a laconic representation of the Sūlagava sacrifice, so elaborately described in the *Āsvalāyana Gṛihyasūtra*, IV. 8 (*sūtra* 14 or 15)." He also points out that, according to the text just referred to, a branch of tree may sometimes serve the purpose of the *yūpa*, and suggest that the device 'bull before tree in railing' also refers to the same sacrifice.[13]

The legend, *A[r]junāyanāna jaya* (*Ārjunāyanānāṁ jayaḥ*) is comparable to those on the Mālava and the Yaudheya coins, which read, *Mālava-gaṇasya jayaḥ* and *Yaudheya-gaṇasya jayaḥ* respectively—with the only difference that the word *gaṇa* does not occur on the Ārjunāyana coins. It may in this connection be noted that the three tribes—the Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas and Yaudheyas—are mentioned together in the Allahabad *praśasti* of Samudragupta.

From the order in which the Ārjunāyanas are mentioned in the above inscription, Cunningham came to the conclusion that they 'may have occupied some part of Rajputana, to the North of Malwa and to the South of Madradesa or Madra.' He also suggested that Ajudhan on the bank of the old Sutlej river

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7 Cf. *BMC* (*AI*), p. 121, Pl. XIV. 10 (Ārjunāyana); ibid., Pl. XV. 5 (Mathurā); and ibid., Pl. XXIX. 15 (Rājanya): cf. also *JRAS* 1900, p. 106.

8 Cf. *BMC* (*AI*), Pl. XIV. 11 (Ārjunāyana) and ibid., Pl. XXXIX. 17 (Yaudheya); cf. also *JRAS* 1900, p. 107.

9 *JRAS* 1900, p. 106.

10 *IMC*, p. 166.

11 *BMC* (*AI*), pp. lxxxii and 121.

12 Ibid., p. cxlvii.

13 *IHQ*, XVI, p. 501; also *JNSI*, XXII, p. 43. The performance of this sacrifice was supposed to bring wealth and prosperity.

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may still preserve some trace of their name.[14] Cunningham, however, classed the Ārjunāyana coins with those of Mathurā as they are procurable in that city and as the standing figure of Lakshmī (?) on coins of Type 1 bears some similarity with that on the Mathurā coins. Smith places the Ārjunāyanas in "the region between the Mālava and Yaudheya territories, or, roughly speaking, the Bharatpur and Alwar States, west of Agra and Mathurā, the principal seat of the Northern Satraps."[15] Allan likewise locates them 'within the triangle Delhi-Jaipur-Agra.'[16]

According to Jayaswal, the Ārjunāyanas were 'a younger political community founded about the Śuṅga time (200 B.C.).'[17] Both Smith and Allan assign the Ārjunāyana coins about 100 B.C.[18] Now, the similarity of the devices on the Ārjunāyana coins of Type 2 with those on the Yaudheya coins of Class 2 (assigned by Allan to the late second and first centuries B.C.),[19] as pointed out above, suggests that the Ārjunāyana coins were of about the same period as the Yaudheya coins of Class 2, and hence may not be much later than the first century B.C. On the other hand, the legends on the Ārjunāyana coins, which are nearly Sanskrit, like those on the earlier Mālava coins, indicate that the Ārjunāyana coins are not likely to have been issued before the first century B.C. We may thus hold with D. C. Sircar that the Ārjunāyanas began to 'grow powerful with the gradual decline of the Indo-Greek power about the middle of the first century B.C.'[20]

The rarity of Ārjunāyana coins shows that the political independence of the tribe was probably not of long duration. As their territory lay close to the Mathurā Satrapy of the Śakas, and as their coins of a date later than the first century B.C. are not known, it appears that they were subdued by the Sakas of Mathurā about the first century A.D.[21]

The mention of the Ārjunāyanas in the Allahabad *praśasti* of Samudragupta, however, shows that they regained some

14 *CAI*, p. 90.
15 *JRAS* 1897, p. 886 ; cf. also *IMC*, p. 190.
16 *BMC* (*AI*), p. lxxxiii.
17 *HP*, Part I, p. 154.
18 Smith, *IMC*, p. 160 ; and Allan, *BMC* (*AI*), p. lxxxiii.
19 *BMC* (*AI*), p. clii.
20 *AIU*, p. 163.
21 Cf. ibid.

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political importance after the decline of the Śakas of Mathurā and the Kushāṇas, although they are not known to have issued any coins during the post-Kushāṇa period. Altekar suggests that they, like the Kuṇindas of a later time, merged with the Yaudheyas during this period, and gave up the right of coinage.[22] But as the Ārjunāyanas are mentioned separately from the Yaudheyas in the above inscription, they do not appear to have lost their internal autonomy altogether. It may again be pointed out that the Madras, another tribe referred to in the same inscription along with the Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas and Yaudheyas are not also known to have issued any coins.

2. The Maukharis Of The Baḍvā Area

Four *yūpa* inscriptions from Baḍvā in the Kotah District reveal the existence of some Maukhari ruling families in the area during the post-Kushāṇa period. Three of these inscriptions are dated in the Kṛita year 295 (237 A.D.) and record the performance of the *Trirātra* sacrifice by each of the three brothers, Balavardhana, Somadeva and Balasiṁha, sons of Maukhari *Mahāsenāpati* Bala.[23] The fourth inscription is not dated, but on palaeographical grounds, is placed about the same period (i.e. the third century A.D.).[24] It commemorates the performance of the *Aptoryāma* sacrifice by Dhanutrātā, son of Hastin of the Maukhari clan.

Since the title *Mahāsenāpati* at that time denoted a feudatory position, Altekar holds that the Maukhari family of Bala might have owed allegiance either to the Śaka Kshatrapas of Ujjain or to the Nāgas of Padmāvatī,[25] while D.C. Sircar suggests that they were probably feudatories of the Mālavas.[26] The fact that these Maukharis used the Kṛita (or Mālava) era appears to lend support to Dr. Sircar's view. Apparently, none of the sons of Bala had attained the position of his father during the time of the sacrifice performed by him. Neither Dhanutrātā nor his

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22 *JUPHS*, XVI, p. 56.

23 *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, pp. 42 ff.

24 Ibid., XXIV, pp.251 ff.

25 *NHIP*, VI, pp. 40, 41.

26 In *SI*, p. 93, n. 1, D. C. Sircar suggested that Bala may have been subordinate to the Śaka king of Ujjain. But in *AIU*, p. 164, he thought it probable that Bala owed his allegiance to the Mālava republic.

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father Hastin, known from the fourth inscription, bears any feudatory or military title like Bala. The family of Hastin seems, therefore, not to have risen to much importance as that of Bala at the time of the incision of the inscription. Both the families appear to be Kshatriyas and great patrons of Vedic sacrifices.[27]

From the evidence of these inscriptions, Altekar holds that there were probably several Maukhari families settled in the Baḍvā area during the third century A.D. and that they were probably scions of one and the same stock,[28] although the records themselves do not suggest any relationship existing between the families of Bala and Hastin. It is not, however, known if these Maukhari families had any connection with the house of Yajñavarman ruling in Bihar about the fourth century A.D.[29] or the better-known Maukhari family of Kanauj (of the sixth and seventh centuries A.D.). The Gaya seal bearing the legend *Mokhalinam* discovered by Cunningham[30] is the earliest Maukhari document so far known, although it bears no personal name. D. C. Sircar suggests that the Maukharies migrated from Rajasthan to U.P. and Bihar and that it was they who carried the use of the Kṛita, Mālava or Vikrama era to those areas (*PIHC* 1952, pp. 371-74).

Altekar suggests that the Maukharis whom Mayūraśarman, the founder of the Kadamba house claimed to have defeated in his Chandravalli inscription 'were some of the descendants of Bala'.[31] For according to him, the family of Bala was feudatory to the Śakas of Ujjain and as Mayūraśarman came into conflict with the Śakas, 'a portion of whose forces were under the command of their Maukhari feudatories of Central India', the Kadamba king claimed victory over the Maukharis as well. But this view seems to be extremely hypothetical.

3. The Śibis

The Śibis are a people of great antiquity. They seem to have claimed their descent from Śibi, one of the five sons of

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27 Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 47 and ibid., XXIV, p. 252.

28 *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, p. 252.

29 Cf. ibid., XXIII, p. 46.

30 Cf. *CII*, III, Intr., p. 14. The legend is said to be 'in Aśoka characters'.

31 *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 48. For the inscription, see *SI*, p. 449.

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Uśīnara, a descendant of Anu.[32] They are probably to be identified with the Śivas who are mentioned in the *Ṛigveda* (VII. 18. 7), along with other tribes defeated by king Sudāsa.[33] A 'Śaibya' (king of the Śibis ?) is mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII. 23).[34] The Buddhist legend makes one Śibi king ideal for self-sacrifice.[35] "The Jātakas mention a Śivi country and its cities Ariṭṭhapura and Jetuttara."[36] Patañjali in his commentary on Pāṇini (IV. 2. 2.) speaks of a place called Śivapura situated in the northern country, most probably to be identified with the capital of the Śivas mentioned in the *Ṛigveda*.[37] The Purāṇas also refer to a Śiva (Śibi)-deśa and to the Śivapauras who are identified as the inhabitants of Śivapura.[38] In the Sabhāparvan of the *Mahābhārata*, the Śibis are once (Ch. LII. 11) mentioned along with the Yaudheyas and Trigartas as paying tribute to Yudhishṭhira and placed in the Punjab, while in another place (Ch.XXXII) they are coupled with the Mālavas and the Trigartas as being conquered by Nakula and are placed in Rajasthan.[39] Varāhamihira places the Śibis in the north along with the Mālavas and the people of Taxila (*Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, XVI. 26), and also with the Ārjunāyanas and Yaudheyas (*Ibid.*, XVII. 19).[40] The Śibis are mentioned by the Greek historians as 'Śiboi' or 'Śobii', who are described by them as rude folks clad with the skins of wild beasts and armed with clubs.[41]

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32 According to the *Mahābhārata*, the *Anukramaṇi* and several Jātakas, Śibi was one of the five sons of king Uśinara. Cf. *PHAI*,[6] p. 66 and n. 9 ; *CASR*, XIV, p. 145 ; and Wilson's *Vishṇupurāṇa*, p. 444, n. 7 According to the genealogies given by the *Harivaṁśa* and *Matsyapurāṇa*, as pointed out by Pargiter, 'various Panjab races claimed descent from Uśinara, but the name Uśinara was especially appropriated to the descendants of Śivi (Vana-P., cxxxi. 10582)' : *Mārk. P.*, p. 377, n.

33 See *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 381-82 ; cf. *PHAI*,[6] p. 253 and notes 2 and 3.

34 Cf. *PHAI*[6], p. 253, n. 3 and *BMC* (*AI*), p. cxxiv.

35 Cf. *BMC* (*AI*), p. cxxiv, and *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 16.

36 Cf. *PHAI*[6], p 253 and notes 4 and 5 ; also *HP*, Part I, p. 68.

37 Cf. *PHAI*[6], p. 253 and n. 6. Both Kātyāyana and Patañjali mention the country of the Śibis (on Pāṇini, IV. 2. 52) ; cf. *HP*, Part I, pp. 68 and 75.

38 Cf. *GAMI*, p. 61 and n. 9 and p. 203.

39 Cf. *HP*, Part 1, p. 155 and *BMC* (*AI*), p. cxxiv.

40 Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, XXII, p. 189 and *BMC* (*AI*), p. cxxiv.

41 See McCrindle, *IIA*, p. 366. It was Lassen who identified the Siboi of the Greeks with the Śibis : cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 16.

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The coins of the Śibis usually bear on the obverse two symbols, viz. a *svastika* with a taurine at each prong (S 61) and a tree rising from a small circle (S 62), and on the reverse a six-tiered mountain (S 1) with a *nandipada* (S 53) above and a wavy line below.[42] The reverse symbols have some similarity with their counterparts on the Kulūta and Kuṇinda coins.[43] The legends as occurring on the obverse appear to be of two varieties:[44] (1) *Śibi-janapadasa*, and (2) *Majhamikāya Śibi-janapadasa*. A coin with the legend of variety 1 has on its obverse only the tree (S 62), while the *svastika* (S 61) occurs on the reverse in place of the three other symbols.[45]

The purport of the legend on the Śibi coins (of variety 2) was not at first properly recognised. Carlleyle read it as *Majhimika-Yashi vijanapadasa* and explained it fancifully.[46] Cunningham read it as *Majhimikāya Śibi-janapadasa* and rendered it as "Coin of the Majhimikā (i.e. Madhyamikā) country of Śibi." He however, took Majhimikā or Madhyamikā as the 'middle country' and thought that there were three divisions of the Śibi country, of which the middle one was denoted by the coins.[47] Allan read Majhamikā (Madhyamikā) in place of Majhimikā and took it to mean 'the Middle Country' which, however, he distinguished from Madhyadeśa.[48] It was Kielhorn who first identified Madhyamikā (i.e. Majhamikā of coins) with a place of that name, mentioned by Patañjali.[49] Bhandarkar also pointed out that Majhamikā or Madhyamikā of the coin-legend was in reality the name of the *janapada* to which the Śibi coins belonged.[50] Jayaswal likewise thought that the coins were struck in the

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42 See *BMC (AI)*, p. cxxiv.

43 Cf. ibid., and Pl.XVI. 4 (Kulūta) and Pl. XXII. I (Kuṇinda).

44 Cf. *JNSI*, IX. pp. 82 ff. ; and *MASI*, No. 4, p. 149, Nos. I7-21.

45 Ibid., Pl. V. 6.

46 *CASR*, VI, p. 202.

47 Ibid., XIV, p. 147. Cunningham at first interpreted the legend as "(Coin) of the Madhyamikayas of the country of Śibi", thus taking Madhyamikā as the name of the people and Śibi, the name of the country : cf. ibid., VI, p. 203.

48 *BMC (AI)*, p. cxxv.

49 *Ind. Ant.*, VII, pp. 266-67.

50 He thinks that Madhyamikā was the name of both the province and its principal town : cf *Carmichael Lectures*, 1919, p. 173, n. 3 and ibid., 1921, p. 13.

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name of 'the Country (or Nation) of the Śibis of Madhyamikā' taking Madhyamikā as the name of the capital of the Śibis.[51]

Madhyamikā is known from literary as well as epigraphic sources. Patañjali refers to the siege of Madhyamikā by the Yavanas (*aruṇad Yavanaḥ Sāketam*, *aruṇad Yavano Madhyamikām*).[52] The *Mahābhārata* (Sabhāparvan, Ch. XXXII, Digvijaya section) refers to the Mādhyamakeyas (i.e. people of Madhyamikā) along with the Daśārṇas.[53] Varāhamihira also mentions the Mādhyamikas as a people of the Central Division of India.[54] The Barli fragmentary inscription of the reign of king Bhāgavata records the donation of an inhabitant of Madhyamikā (Majhimikā).[55] Two other fragmentary inscriptions from Chitorgaṛh (of about the first half of the sixth century A.D.) refer to the pious deeds of a governor of Daśapura and Madhyamā, i. e. Madhyamikā.[56] Madhyamāpurī, apparently the same as Madhyamā, is also mentioned in the *Kumārapālacharitrasaṁgraha*, in connection with the wanderings of the Chaulukya king Kumārapāla (1145-71 A.D.).[57]

Kielhorn identified Majhamikā or Madhyamikā with Nagarī or Tambavati Nagarī (near Chitorgaṛh) wherefrom most of the Śibi coins procured by Carlleyle came.[58] The site of this ancient city is situated about eleven miles north of Chitor and on the right or east bank of the Birach or Bairish river, in Mewar or the old Udaipur State.[59] The *Kumārapālacharitrasaṁgraha* also locates Madhyamāpurī (i.e. Madhyamikā) at a distance of three *krośas* or about seven miles from Chitrakūṭa or Chitorgaṛh.[60] The antiquity of Tambavati Nagarī is proclaimed by the discovery of

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51 *HP*, Part I, p. 153, and n. 3. D. C. Sircar also translated the legend as 'coin of the Śibi state struck at Madhyamikā : see *AIU*, p. 160, n. 4.

52 See *Ind. Ant.*, VII, pp. 266-67.

53 Cf. *HP*, Part I, p. 155 ; also *Mahābhārata*, Ch. VII, verses 7-8 : cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV, p. 58.

54 *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, XIV. 2 : cf. *Ind. Ant.*, XXII, p. 183.

55 *JBRS*, XXXVII, pp. 34 ff.

56 *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV, pp. 55 ff.

57 Cf. *Jour. Or. Inst.* (Baroda), X, pp. 180-181.

58 Cf. Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.*, VII. pp. 266-67. Carlleyle found 7 Śibi coins at Nagarī and 2 at Chitor (*CASR*, VI, p. 200), while D. R. Bhandarkar obtained 4 Śibi coins from Nagarī (*MASI*, No. 4, p. 122). Another coin is recorded from private collection (ibid., p. 149). The coins published in *JNSI*, IX, pp. 82 ff. were also found 'near Chitor'.

59 *CASR*, VI, p. 196.

60 Cf. *Jour. Or. Inst.*, X, p. 181.

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a number of ancient punch-marked coins and five Brāhmī inscriptions from that site.[61]

According to Cunningham, the country of the Siboi (of the Greek writers) 'must have comprised the great central tract lying between Lahor and Multan.'[62] McCrindle holds that 'the Śibi inhabited a district between the Hydaspes and the Indus, and their capital stood at a distance of about thirty miles from the former river, and, as appears from Diodorus, above its confluence with the Akesines.'[63] Smith locates the country of the Śibis near Jhang, 'probably to the north and north-east of the place.'[64] This location is also supported by an inscription found at Shorkot near Jhang, which mentions Śibipura, most probably to be identified with Patañjali's Śibipura, capital of the Śibis.[65] It has been pointed out by Vogel that the mound of Shorkot (which yielded large finds of ancient coins and some moulded bricks bearing short ancient inscriptions)[66] marks the site of ancient Śibipura, the capital of the Śibis.[67] According to local tradition recorded by Cunningham, 'the original name of the place was Shivanagari or Sheopur, which was gradually contracted to Shor',[68] to which the word 'kot' (i.e. fort) was later added.[69] The Shorkot inscription mentioning Śibipura shows that local tradition has preserved the old name nearly in its correct form. The inscription is dated in year 83 of some era, taken by Vogel to be the Gupta era, which will make the date of the inscription correspond to 402-3 A.D.[70] This shows that even at the beginning of the fifth century A.D. Shorkot was known by its ancient name of Śibipura.

We thus see that the Śibis who issued coins from their headquarters at Madhyamikā (Nagarī) near Chitor cannot be

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61 Cf. *CASR*, VI, p. 200 ; *JASB* 1887, pp. 74 ff., and *MASI*, No. 4, pp. 119 ff.

62 *CASR*, XIV, p. 145.

63 *IIA*, p. 366.

64 *JRAS* 1903, p. 689.

65 J. Ph. Vogel, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, pp. 15 ff.

66 Cf. *CASR*, V, pp. 99 ff.

67 *JPHS*, I, p. 174 ; *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 16.

68 Cf. *CASR*, V, 100. Cunningham states that according to the local Hindus, the fort was built by a Hindu Rājā named Shor : ibid., p. 98.

69 Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 17.

70 Ibid., p. 15.

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identified with the Śibis of Śibipura (Shorkot) of the Jhang area. The same problem as in the case of the Mālavas, therefore, arises with the Śibis : while most of the literary references, supported by the Shorkot inscription of Year 83 point to the Punjab as their original home, their coins indicate the Chitorgaṛh area as the field of their political activities. It is possible that the Śibis, like the Mālavas, dwelt earlier in the Punjab with their capital at Śibipura (Shorkot) but later on gradually migrated southwards to Rajasthan where we find them issuing coins from the mint of Madhyamikā (Nagarī).[71]

Cunningham shows that 'there was apparently another Śibi to the east of the Satlej, which was the country of the famous Prince Sudatta, the hero of Wessantara Jātaka.' He identifies Jayatura or Jetuttura, capital of this Śibi country, with Chitor, taking it as identical with Jitur, Jetur or Jattaraur of Muhammedan writers. He finds support for his view by the discovery of some Śibi coins from Chitor also.[72] Altekar, however, doubts if Chitor was identical with Jetur or Jayatur or Jetuttura. On the other hand, he thinks that Jetuttura may be the same as Jyeshṭhapura of some coins of the fourth or fifth century A.D., obtained from Indore, and identifies it with Jaitapurā, a village 34 miles to the east of Nagarī.[73] But this identification leads to the supposition that Madhyamikā (Nagarī) was not the Śibi capital, which is contrary to the evidence of coins. 'Jetuttara', as suggested by D.C. Sircar, 'seems to have been a locality in the Punjab.'

Allan assigns the Śibi coins to the second century B.C.[74] But D.C. Sircar holds that the script used on the Śibi coins 'cannot be earlier than the latter half of the first century B.C.'[75] It thus appears that the Śibis in the course of their migration from the Punjab had settled in the Chitorgaṛh area by the first century B.C. at the latest.

As already noted, Patañjali (early second century B.C.) refers to the siege of Madhyamikā by the Yavanas. There is,

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71 Cf. *HP*, Part I, pp. 77 and 153.

72 See *CASR*, VI, p. 205, and ibid., XIV, pp. 145-46.

73 *JNSI*, XIV, p. 5, Pl. I. 3-4 (coins), and p. 7 (identification).

74 *BMC(AI)*, p. cxxv.

75 *AIU*, p. 160, n. 4.

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however, no means to ascertain if Madhyamikā was by that time occupied by the Śibis. From the mention of the Śibis along with the Mādhyamakeyas in the *Mahābhārata* (Sabhāparvan, Ch.XXXII, 1190), Jayaswal points out that 'Madhyamikā had not yet passed under the Śibis and was at the time the seat of a separate political community.'[76] The Barli fragmentary inscription of about the second half of the second century B.C., which refers to an inhabitant of Madhyamikā, does not also help us to know if the Śibis had settled there at that time.

Again, three copies of an inscription have been found at Ghosuṇḍī, Hāthibāḍā and a place between Ghosuṇḍī and Bassi (all situated in and near Nagarī), which record the construction of a stone enclosure around the place of worship of Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva, as well as the performance of *Aśvamedha* sacrifice by king Pārāśarīputra Sarvatāta of the Gājāyana family.[77] These inscriptions are assigned to about the second half of the first century B.C. by D.C. Sircar who takes Sarvatāta as a local ruler.[78] Now, from the evidence of the Śibi coins it appears that the Śibis were in occupation of the Nagarī area about the same period. It is, however, very doubtful if king Sarvatāta can be regarded as belonging to the Śibi clan, since the inscriptions which otherwise give details as to his family and *gotra* do not specifically say so. If king Sarvatāta was not a Śibi, are we to hold that the Śibis of Madhyamikā came under the sway of a different ruling family about the end of the first century B.C.? Whatever may be the case, the absence of the Śibi coins of a later date indicates that they ultimately lost their independence, most probably to the Śaka Satraps of Western India, although Madhyamikā seems to have flourished till the sixth century A.D., as known from Varāhamihira and the Chitorgaṛh inscriptions.

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76 *HP*, Part I, p. 155.

77 See *JASB* 1887, pp. 74 ff.; *MASI*, No. 4, pp. 119 ff.; and *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, pp. 25 ff.; and ibid., XXII, pp. 198 ff. Of the two other inscriptions found at Nagarī, one is of about the fourth century A. D. and records the erection of a *yūpa* for the celebration of a *Vājapeya* sacrifice by at least three brothers whose names are lost. The other inscription records the erection of a temple of Vishṇu by three Bania brothers : see *MASI*, No. 4, pp. 120-21.

78 *SI*, p. 92, n. 1. Johnston took Sarvatāta as the epithet of the king and identified him with the Sātavāhana king Sātakarṇi I who is known to have twice performed the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice (see *Ind. Ant.*, LXI, p. 204), while J. C. Ghosh took him to be a Kāṇva king and found traces of the name Suśarman in the inscription (*IHQ*, IX, pp. 795 ff.).

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A few more Śibi settlements other than those of the Punjab and Madhyamikā are, however, known from literary sources. The *Mahābhārata* refers to a country (*rāshṭra*) of the Śibis near the Yamunā, which was ruled by king Uśīnara.[79] This reference led H.C. Raychaudhuri to think that the Uśīnara country which is placed in Madhyadeśa by the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* might have been at one time the home of the Śibis.[80] Pargiter also points out that in the *Mahābhārata* the Śibis are sometimes grouped with the Trigartas, Madras, and other Punjab nations, and sometimes with the Kurus, Śūrasenas and Matsyas, 'that is, with all the nations which surrounded Brahmāvarta', and that 'their territory was near the Jumna'. 'The Śivis or Uśīnara', according to him, 'therefore appear to have possessed the country at the upper part of the Sarasvatī, Dṛishadvatī and Jumna, from Saharanpur to Pattiala'.[81] As referred to by Cunningham, the French traveller Thevenot, in his account of the dominions of the Emperor of Delhi, mentions *Śiba* as one of 'the most northern countries that belong to the Great Mogul'. Cunningham identifies this 'Śiba' with 'a district on the Ganges, of which the chief city, according to Terry, was *Hardware* (or Haridwāra), where the river Ganges, passing through or amongst large rocks, makes presently after a pretty full current.'[82] The Śibis are also located in Sind, and according to the *Daśakumāracharita*, on the banks of the Kāverī.[83] The latter Śibis of the south are 'probably to be identified with the Chola ruling family', as suggested by H.C. Raychaudhuri.[84]

The Jātakas and the *Mahābhārata* give a monarchical constitution to the Śibis[85] who are probably to be identified with the Śibis of Madhyadeśa. Diodorus's reference to the Śibis of the Punjab probably indicates that they were a republican people ; for, as he informs us, when Alexander encamped near their capital, 'the citizens who filled the highest offices' came forth to

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79 *PHAI*[6], p. 253.

80 Cf. ibid., pp. 65 and 253.

81 *Mārk. P.*, p. 377, n.

82 *AGI*, pp. 160-61.

83 Cf. *PHAI*[6], p. 253 and *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 16.

84 *PHAI*[6], p. 223, n. 12 ; also cf. *AIU*, p. 160, n. 4.

85 For the Jātakas, cf. *HP*, Part I, p. 64, n. 3 ; and for the *Mahābharāta*, see *PHAI*[6], p. 253.

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meet him.[86] The Śibis of Rajasthan, who are known from their coins, appear also to have had a republican form of government, since the coin-legends refer only to their *janapada*, not to any particular chief.

4. The Uddehikas And Sudavapas (?)

Coins with the appellations 'Udehaki' and 'Sudavapa' written before issuers' names are rather rare. Before the discovery of one Udehaki and twelve Sudavapa coins from excavations at Rairh in Jaipur, only two coins with the appellation "Udehaki" were known.[87] Rapson interpreted the term Udehaki (Odehaki) or Audehaki as '(the prince) of the Uddehikas', thereby taking *Uddehika* as the name of a tribe.[88] The legend is comparable to those on the Kulūta and Kuṇinda coins which apply the appellation 'Kaulūta' or 'Kauṇinda' to the issuer's name.

The people known as Audehikas, Auddehikas or Uddehikas are mentioned by Varāhamihira, and their country is located in Madhyadeśa.[89] Al-Bīrūnī, writing in the eleventh century, states that the country of the Uddehikas lay near Bazāna or Narāna, the capital of Guzerat, 112 miles to the south-west of Kanauj.[90] According to Abu Rihan, Narāna or Bazāna was called Nārāyan by the Musalmans, which Cunningham identified with Nārāyanpur, the capital of Bairāt or Vairāta, situated in the Alwar State, 10 miles north-east of Vairat itself.[91] Cunningham took Guzerat of Al-Bīrūnī as an error for Bairāt. But D.C. Ganguly identifies Guzerat of Al-Bīrūnī with 'Gurjaratrā', known from the Daulatpur and Khajuraho inscriptions as situated in the north-eastern parts of Rajasthan.[92] According to him, Nārāyana in Alwar was situated in the kingdom of Gurjara.

S.K. Dikshit, on the other hand, identifies the Narāna of Al-Bīrūnī with Naraina, a town 70 miles south-west of Vairat in Sambhar District of the former Jaipur State. He thinks that

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86 Diodorus, XVII. 96 ; cf. McCrindle, *IIA*, p. 285.
87 See *BMC(AI)*, pp. cxli, and 240 ; and *ER*, pp. 51. ff.
88 *JRAS* 1900, p. 99.
89 *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, XIV. 3 ; cf. *Ind. Ant.*, XXII, p. 192.
90 Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, XXII, p. 192, and *JBORS*, XXIV, p. 229.
91 Cf. *CASR*, II, pp. 242 ff., and *AGI*, pp. 387–88.
92 *JBORS*, XXIV, p. 229.

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Bazāna probably represents a corrupt form of the Sanskrit Bhādānaka, mentioned by Rājaśekhara, which is again, probably an earlier Prākṛit form of Vāṭadhānam, referred to in the Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata*. As Uddehika coins are found at Rairh, Dikshit identifies the capital of the Uddehikas with Bari Udai in the Gangapur Tahsil of the former Jaipur State, which is about 40 miles north-east of Rairh and about 92 miles south-east of Naraina (identified with Bazāna).[93] D. C. Sircar, however, identifies Bazāna, the capital of Gujarat (i.e. the Gurjara country) with modern Bayānā in the Bharatpur District.[94]

As to the meaning of the term 'Sudavapa', K.N. Dikshit takes it as a title or a family name,[95] while S.K. Dikshit thinks that it is a place-name.[96] According to V.S. Agrawala, Sudavapa has been formed by adding 'Su' prefix to Udavapa or Udvapa, found amongst place-names in Pāṇini, and is identical with Udvapa.[97] Nothing, however, can be said definitely on this point until further evidence is forthcoming.

The Uddehika coins are square and of two types, one bearing the legend *Udehaki* alone,[98] and the other, *Udehaki Suyamitasa*.[99] The obverse of both the types bears three symbols, viz. the Ujjain symbol (S 27), a tank with two fishes (S 63) and a tree-in-railing (S 12). The reverse of Type 1 has a tree-in-railing laid on its side over a bull to right, while that of type 2 has an elephant to left with traces of other symbols, countermarked with the triangle-headed-standard (S 3).

The 'Sudavapa' coins, which are also of square shape, bear the names of two rulers, Sūryamitra and Dhruvamitra. The obverse of Sūryamitra's coins has a bull to left with three symbols above (S 3, S 18 and S 27) and the legend to be read from outside : (above) *Sudavapa* (left) *Suyamitasa*. The reverse depicts in all four symbols, a meandering river with fishes, with a solar

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93 *Ind. Cult.*, VII, pp. 361 ff. For the mention of the Vāṭadhānas in the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas, cf. *Mārk. P.*, pp. 312 and n., 378; and *GAMI*, p. 23 and n. 6.

94 *AIU*, p. 159, n. 3.

95 *JNSI*, III, p. 48.

96 *ER*, p. 52.

97 *JNSI*, IV, p. 48.

98 *BMC(AI)*, p. 240, Pl. XXXV. 16.

99 Ibid., Pl. XXXV. 17; also *ER*, p. 65, Pl. XXVI. 9.

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symbol or star and six-arched mountain symbol (cf. S I) above and another symbol (S 54) below.[100] Sudavapa Dhruvamitra's coins, although of several varieties, bear most of the symbols seen on 'Sudavapa' Sūryamitra's coins.[101]

According to Rapson, the Uddehika coins belong to the third century B.C.,[102] while Allan assigns them to the early second century B. C.[103] D. C. Sircar thinks that they are assignable to the second half of the first century B.C.[104] This seems to be in keeping with the date of other coins of similar nature, viz. those of the Audumbara, Kulūta, Kuṇinda and Vemaki tribes.

The Sudavapa coins, which are similar in shape and fabric to the Uddehika pieces, are only larger and heavier[105] and finer in execution. They seem also to belong to the same period. The two series are again interconnected by symbols. The Ujjain symbol occurs on both the series, while the triangle-headed-standard which appears on the obverse of the Sudavapa coins is countermarked on the reverse of the Uddehika pieces. Again, 'the tank with two fishes' on the obverse of the Uddehika coins finds its substitute in the 'meandering river with fishes' on their Sudavapa counterparts. It is thus probable that the districts of circulation of these two series of coins were very close to each other. If the Uddehika coins belong to the Bayānā region, the place of origin of the Sudavapa coins might have been somewhere between Bayānā and Rairh where they were found in course of excavations.

It may be noted that the name 'Sūryamitra' occurs on the coins of both the Uddehika and Sudavapa series. But inspite of the similarities of these coins, it is not possible to determine if the Sūryamitras of the two series were identical, since the significance of the appellation 'Sudavapa' is not known.

The name Sūryamitra, again, occurs on coins of Kanauj,

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100 *JNSI*, III, p. 47, Pl. IV-A. 2 ; *ER*, pp. 66-67, Pl. XXVI. 10.
101 *JNSI*, III, p. 48, Pl. IV-A. 3 ; *ER*, pp. 67-68, Pl. XXVI. 12-14.
102 *JRAS* 1900, p. 100.
103 *BMC(AI)*, p. cxli.
104 *AIU*, p. 159, n. 3.
105 Cf. *JNSI*, III, p. 47.

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Mathurā and Pañchāla.[106] While the Kanauj coins have some symbols (S3, S12 and S27) in common with the Uddehika or Sudavapa coins, those of Mathurā and Pañchāla have practically nothing in common with them. And inspite of the similarity of symbols between the Kanauj and Uddehika-Sudavapa pieces, the 'Udehaki' and 'Sudavapa' Sūryamitras seem to be distinguished by their respective appellations from all the other Sūryamitras. Similarly, 'Sudavapa' Dhruvamitra may also be distinguished from his Pañchāla namesake.[107]

The occupation of the Mathurā region by the Śakas at the beginning of the first century A.D. probably accounts for the decline of the powers of the Uddehika-Sudavapa rulers, whose coins of a later date are not known.

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106 Cf. *BMC(AI)*, p. 147, Pl. XIX. 12 (Kanauj); ibid., p. 174, Pl. XXV. 17 (Mathurā); and ibid., p. 193, Pl. XXVII. 8 (Pañchāla).

107 Ibid., p. 199, Pl. XXVII. 7.

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Chapter XIII

THE NĀGAS

1. THE NĀGA CULT AND THE NĀGAS

The Nāgas are a mysterious people around whom has grown up a number of legends and myths, which indicate their great power and culture. The Vedic, Epic, Puranic as well as Buddhist and Jaina literatures speak of such mythical Nāgas. As a real people also, they are known from early as well as medieval writers. The wide distribution of their habitations all over India is revealed not only from literary, numismatic and epigraphic records, but also from the naming after them of several localities in different parts of India (e.g. Nāgapura, Uragapura, Nāgarakhaṇḍa, Ahikshetra or Ahichchhatra, etc.) as well as of numerous families, including a number of ruling dynasties, having "nāga" as a part of their names.[1]

The origin of the Nāgas is shrouded in obscurity and offers one of the complicated problems of the history of ancient India. According to some scholars, the Nāgas were originally serpent-worshippers, and from the cult-name were afterwards themselves known as Nāgas.[2] L. B. Keny, however, disputes this view and holds that although the Nāgas existed even in very early times, serpent-worship as such was not known at that time and came into vogue only in the Kushāṇa period—somewhere about the latter half of the first century A.D.[3] But it has been pointed out by K. K. Gupta that snake-worship was prevalent in India even during the period of Mohenjodaro and other Indus valley cultures.[4] Snake-worship, therefore, seems to have originated with the non-Aryan people before the advent of the Aryans in India. The Ṛigveda reflects a spirit of conflict between the non-Aryan snake-worshippers and the Aryans who depict the snake-god (Ahi-Vṛitra) as an evil spirit and the enemy of the Aryan god Indra. But the Aryans could not long

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1 Cf. *AIU*, p. 168.
2 Atkinson, *Himalayan Dist. Gazetteer*, 1884, p. 373.
3 *JBORS*, XXVIII, pp. 152 ff.
4 *PIHC* 1939, p. 224.

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resist this non-Aryan influence on their religion and the snake-god was gradually absorbed into their pantheon, the difference being that while the non-Aryans associated the snake mostly with the earth and its oceans, the Aryans regarded it more as an atmospheric than a water god and soon included him amongst other atmospheric deities. The snake-god was thus associated with Agni and Rudra, and the importance given to his association with Rudra probably gave rise to 'the amalgamation of one aspect of the Nāga cult with Saivism.'[5]

The Nāga cult had an appreciable influence on the most important religious sects of the early period, viz. Buddhism, Jainism, Bhagavatism and Saivism.[6] In sculptures we often find the *nāga* or the serpent protecting or doing homage to the supreme beings of the different religions. This is but a subtle attempt at introducing the popular Nāga cult into the respective religious sects. Thus, the Buddha is depicted as being protected by the king of serpents (Nāgarāja), who ultimately became his follower, and the *nāgas* or snakes are very often shown as worshipping the Buddha. Similarly, the figure of Pārśvanātha, the Jaina *Tīrthaṅkara*, is always seen as being protected by a multi-hooded serpent. Vishṇu, the divine hero of the Bhāgavatas, is sometimes depicted as lying on Anantanāga in the midst of the vast primeval ocean, while Kṛishṇa, who is identified with Vishṇu, is said to have been protected by a *nāga* after his birth. Again, as J. Ph. Vogel suggests, Baladeva or Balarāma, the mythical personage regarded as the elder brother of Kṛishṇa, might have originally been a Nāga lord, since he found many Nāga statuettes in the Mathurā District being worshipped as Baladeva.[7] But the greatest influence of the Nāga cult appears to have been cast on Saivism.[8] The Śiva-liṅga, an object of worship for the Saivites, is depicted as being protected by a hooded *nāga*, and in some cases, Nāga ruling families, such as the Bhāraśivas, were great devotees of Śiva. This is but natural, since the Śiva cult, as indicated by the Paśupati-Śiva seal discovered from Mohenjo-daro, was

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5 Cf. ibid., pp 225-26

6 Cf. ibid., p. 226 and *ASR* 1908-09, p. 162.

7 *ASR* 1908-1909, p. 162.

8 Cf. *PIHC* 1939, p. 226.

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itself of non-Aryan origin. The Nāga cult was very popular during the Kushāṇa period.[9]

The traditional accounts of the Nāgas would refer not only to serpents proper but also to mythical or semi-divine beings, a whole tribe or even a ruling dynasty. The people called 'Nāgas' seem to have been originally worshippers of Nāga and later on probably went into the folds of other religions. These totemistic snake-worshippers were generally devotees of Śiva. The Nāga ruling families like the Bhāraśivas apparently evolved out of a 'religious hierarchy' connected with the Nāga cult.[10]

According to some scholars, the earliest historical kings of Magadha, viz. Śiśunāga, Nāgadaśaka, etc. were of Nāga lineage.[11] Inscriptions and coins reveal the existence of several Nāga ruling families in ancient India. Of them we are concerned here with the Bhāraśiva-Nāgas, who flourished between the second and fourth centuries A. D. The members of the Bhāraśiva family whose names end in *-nāga* evidently had the *nāga* or snake as their *totem*, but were so called apparently because of their reverence to Śiva. They adopted, as their coins show, Saiva emblems like the bull, *triśūla*, etc.

2. JAYASWAL'S THEORY ABOUT THE BHĀRAŚIVA-NĀGA EMPIRE

Jayaswal, in his *History of India*, c. 150-350 A.D., has made an elaborate study about the political history of the Nāgas of that period.

He has shown from the Puranic evidence that the Nāgas first began to rule at Vidiśā. According to the Purāṇas, the Vidiśā Nāgas fall into two groups, one ruling *before* the Śuṅgas and the other, *after* the Śuṅgas. Rulers of the first group are (1) Śesha Nāgarāja, (2) Bhogin (son of Śesha), (3) Rāmachandra or Sadāchandra, (4) Chandrāṁśa, (5) Dhanadharman or Dharmavarman, (6) Vaṅgara, and (7) Bhūtinanda. Jayaswal, however, makes Bhūtinanda the first ruler of the second group which is represented by—(1) Śiśunandi, (2) Nandiyaśas or Yaśonandi (younger brother of Śiśunandi), and (3-5) his three successors. The

9 Cf. *ASR* 1908-1909, p. 162.

10 Cf. *PIHC* 1939, pp. 223, and 226-227.

11 A. Banerji-Sastri, *ABORI*, XVIII, p. 346.

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Purāṇas mention in this connection, one Śiśuka, the 'daughter's son' of Nandiyaśas, who became king in Purikā.[12]

Jayaswal ascribed the coins of the Mathurā Dattas to the Vidiśā Nāgas.[13] Of the kings who flourished before the end of Śuṅga rule, Śeshanāga is identified with Śeshadatta[14] and Rāmachandra with Rāmadatta,[15] while Śiśunandi of the post-Śuṅgan line is identified with Śiśuchandradatta.[16] The unnamed successors of Yaśonandi are identified with the other Dattas, as known from the Mathurā coins.[17] He also identified king Śivanandi of the Pawaya Maṇibhadra image inscription[18] with (Kshatrapa) Śivadatta of the Mathurā coins[19] and thought that he was one of the three unnamed successors of Yaśonandi.[20] According to him, the 'pre-Śuṅgan kings' ruled at Vidiśā, while the rulers of the re-established dynasty from the time of Bhūtinanda made their capital at Padmāvatī. Jayaswal believed that the coins of the Vidiśā Nāgas were found at Mathurā because Mathurā was a great centre of trade where coins from different places were brought.[21]

Again, Śiśuka, the 'daughter's son' of Yaśonandi or Nandiyaśas has been identified by Jayaswal with the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena I who was also the daughter's son of a Nāga king, viz. Bhavanāga, as known from the Vākāṭaka records.[22] From this he came to the conclusion that the Nāga line ultimately merged with the Vākāṭaka dynasty.

These early Nāgas of Vidiśā, according to Jayaswal, ruled from about 110 B.C.—78 A.D., when the Kushāṇas overthrew them. During the Kushāṇa supremacy, the Nāgas left

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12 *DKA*, p. 49 ; cf *HI*, pp. 9-10.

13 *HI*, pp. 12-13

14 *BMC(AI)*, p. 174, Pl. XLIII. 18 ; also p. 152 above.

15 Ibid., p. 179, Pl. XXIV. 5 ; also p. 152 above.

16 Ibid., p. 280, Pl. XLV. 13 ; also p. 166 above.

17 For the Dattas of Mathurā, see p. 152 above.

18 *ASR* 1915-16, pp. 105-06.

19 *BMC(AI)*, p. 183, Pl. XXV. 26 ; and p. 162 above.

20 See *HI*, p. 11.

21 Ibid., p. 13.

22 Ibid., pp. 15 ff. Jayaswal takes Śiśuka in its literal sense as 'infant' and not as a name. For the Vākāṭaka inscription, see *SI*, p. 420.

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Padmāvatī and took shelter in the jungles of Madhya Pradesh.[23] After a century of Kushāṇa rule, the Nāgas re-asserted their power and began to rule from Kāntipurī, identified by him with the old fort of Kantit, situated between Mirzapur and Vindhyāchal.[24] The founder of the revived Nāga dynasty of Kāntipurī was king Nava, whom Jayaswal identified with Nava of some Kauśāmbī coins.[25] According to him, the dynasty derived its name (*Nava Nāgāḥ* of the *Purāṇas*) from its founder Nava.[26] The second ruler of the dynasty was Vīrasena, identified with Svāmi-Vīrasena of the Jankhat (Farrukhabad District) inscription of year 13,[27] and Vīrasena of the Mathurā coins,[28] as well as the issuer of the Padmāvatī coins with the fragmentary legend 'Va' (or 'Kha').[29] Thus, according to Jayaswal, Vīrasena reconquered Padmāvatī and Mathurā, and established two branch-lines at those places, while the main line continued to rule at Kāntipurī.[30] He also finds out the names of the four successors of Vīrasena at Kāntipurī, from some unassigned coins of doubtful reading in the Indian Museum, namely, Hayanāga, Trayanāga, Barhinanāga and Charājanāga.[31] The seventh and last king of Kāntipurī was Bhavanāga, the well-known Bhāraśiva king of that name, who is referred to in the Vākāṭaka records. Thus, the Bhāraśiva dynasty was identified by Jayaswal with the Nāga line of Kāntipurī. That the Bhāraśivas were a Nāga family is implied by the name-ending of Bhava-Nāga.[32] After Bhavanāga, the Bhāraśiva line merged with the Vākāṭakas, by his daughter's son Rudrasena I.

The successors of Vīrasena in Padmāvatī were (1) Bhīmanāga, (2) Skandanāga, (3) Bṛihaspatināga, (4) Vyāghranāga, (5)

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23 *HI*, pp. 14-15.

24 Ibid., pp. 29-30.

25 *BMC(AI)*, p. 154, Pl. XXI. 4 ; cf. pp. 124-125 above.

26 *HI*, pp. 18-19.

27 *Ep.Ind.*, XI, pp. 85 ff.

28 *BMC(AI)*, p. 280, Pl. XLV. 15 ; and pp. 166 ff. above.

29 *CMI*, p. 23, Pl. II. 13 (Kha-) ; and ibid., Pl. II. 14 (Va-).

30 *HI*, pp. 19 ff.

31 Ibid., pp. 24-26. For the coins see *IMC*, pp. 205-06, Nos. 7-12. Jayaswal reads the names of Hayanāga on Nos. 7 and 11, Trayanāga on No. 10, Barhinanāga on No. 12, and Charājanāga on Nos. 8-9.

32 See *HI*, p. 8.

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Devanāga and (6) Gaṇapatināga, all of whom are known from the Padmāvatī series of coins.[33] The names of the successors of Vīrasena at Mathurā are not known because they did not issue any coin. The last of them was Nāgasena who was defeated by Samudragupta as known from his Allahabad *praśasti*. Nāgasena's contemporary at Padmāvatī was Gaṇapatināga who was likewise uprooted by Samudragupta. Besides the three main Nāga houses at Kāntipurī, Padmāvatī and Mathurā, there were, according to Jayaswal, some other minor Nāga lines represented by Achyuta of Ahichchhatra, Matila of Indrapura (Indor Khera), and Nāgadatta of Śrughna (Sugh in the Ambala District), all of whom were overthrown by Samudragupta, according to the Allahabad pillar inscription.[34]

The Nāga government is thus represented as a federation of three main monarchical lines, of which the Bhāraśivas of Kāntipurī were the imperial one, and those of Padmāvatī (*Ṭāka-vaṁśa*) and Mathurā (*Yadu-vaṁśa*) two branch lines, with a number of gubernatorial families and a number of republics, e.g., those of the Yaudheyas, Kuṇindas and Mālavas under them.[35] According to Jayaswal, the empire of the Bhāraśivas included Bihar, the Uttar Pradesh, Bundelkhand, the Madhya Pradesh, Malwa, Rajasthan, and the Madra republic in the eastern Punjab.[36]

Jayaswal thus imagines a mighty Bhāraśiva-Nāga empire whose foundation is dated about 150 A.D. and whose real contribution is supposed to be the revival of the tradition of Hindu freedom and sovereignty.[37] According to him, the Nāga emperors became the leaders of a movement for freedom from the Kushāṇa rule and they were helped in their campaigns by the republican communities of the Yaudheyas, Mālavas and Kuṇindas.[38] The performance of ten *Aśvamedhas* by them, as alluded to in the Vākāṭaka records, signified a repeated assertion of their imperial position in Āryāvarta and these were at the

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33 See *HI*, p. 35. Their coins will be discussed below.

34 Ibid., p. 36. For the Allahabad pillar inscription, see *SI*, pp. 256-57.

35 *HI*, pp. 33-35.

36 Ibid., p. 55.

37 Ibid., p. 16.

38 Ibid., p. 54.

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cost of the Kushāṇa empire.[39] "The history of the Imperial Hindu revival is not to be dated in the fourth century with Samudragupta, not even with the Vākāṭakas nearly a century earlier, but with the Bhāraśivas nearly a century earlier still."[40]

3. JAYASWAL'S THEORY EXAMINED

But the above views of Jayaswal have been challenged by scholars as they are based on uncertain or inadequate materials.

We have actually got no coins of the Vaidiśa Nāgas referred to in the Purāṇas.[41] The coins of the Dattas of Mathurā, ascribed to the Vidiśā Nāgas by Jayaswal, belong to the distinctive Mathurā series and are never found at Vidiśā. The name-ending 'datta' is also alien to the Nāgas, whereas the later rulers of undoubted Nāga origin almost always have their names ending in *nāga*. The coins of the Dattas of Mathurā bear no affinity in type, shape, size or legend to the well-known Nāga coins of Padmāvatī. Thus, there is no justification in attributing the Mathurā coins to the so-called Nāgas of Vidiśā.

Then, as shown by Banerji-Sastri, Jayaswal's dating of the Vaidiśaka Nāgas about 110 B.C. to 78 A.D. is unacceptable, since the Puranic statements about the chronology of the Vidiśā Nāgas, on which Jayaswal relies, is self-contradictory.[42] For, while the kings from Śesha to Vaṅgara are stated as rulers who flourished before the end of the Śuṅga line, Rāmachandra, the second king of the line is described as a second 'Nakhavant', thereby making him definitely later than the Śaka Kshatrapa Nahapāna, who flourished about the beginning of the second century A.D. Banerji-Sastri has also pointed out that the succession of the local dynasties of Vidiśā is a continuous one and

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39 Ibid., p. 5. For the passage in question see *SI*, pp. 419-20. Jayaswal translates it as follows. "Of [the Dynasty of] the Bhāra Śivas whose royal line owed its origin to the great satisfaction of Śiva on account of their carrying the load of the symbol of Śiva on their shoulders—the Bhāra Śivas who were anointed to sovereignty with the holy water of the Bhāgirathī which had been obtained by their valour—the Bhāra Śivas who performed their sacred bath on the completion of their Ten Aśvamedhas': *HI*, p. 7.

40 *HI*, p. 4.

41 Cf. also Altekar, *JNSI*, V, pp. 111 ff.

42 Cf. *JASB* 1939, p. 182.

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is corroborated by coins and inscriptions. Vidiśā passed from the Mauryas to the Śuṅgas. From them it passed to the Sātavāhanas about the first century B.C. The Andhra power was overwhelmed for a time by the conquests of the Śaka Kshatrapas of Western India, probably during the time of the Kushāṇas. It is possible that Nāga rule at Vidiśā was established some time before the rise of Nahapāna, and at a period when the Sātavāhana power was eclipsed for a while. After Nahapāna, Gautamīputra regained Vidiśā and the Nāgas might have ruled there as feudatories of the Sātavāhanas.[43]

It is, however, possible to hold with Jayaswal that the Nāga dynasty first began to rule in Vidiśā. For, although we have got no coins of the so-called 'Vaidiśaka Nāgas' (i.e. the line of Śesha Nāgarāja) as enumerated in the Purāṇas, the coins of Vṛishabha and some other Padmāvatī rulers are found at Vidiśā.[44] The coins of Vṛishabha, while belonging to the Nāga series of Padmāvatī, differ from those of the others in that the bull on his coins is represented as standing to front, closely resembling the bull-device on the potin and copper coins of the Western Kshatrapas of the second century A.D., whereas the animal is always seen in profile on the coins of all the other Nāga rulers. The device also seems to bear allusion to the king's name, as in the case of the Pañchāla coins. Vṛishabha might, therefore, have been the first amongst the Nāga rulers who adopted the 'Bull' type as their dynastic emblem.

It may be noted in this connection that the *Vāyupurāṇa* calls the Vaidiśaka Nāgas 'Vṛishas'.[45] According to H. V. Trivedi, this may signify that the Vidiśā Nāgas were the descendants of king Vṛisha, taking the name as a dynastic appellation.[46] If Vṛisha is identified with Vṛishabha of coins, it may be said that Vṛishabha was the originator of the Nāga house and that he established himself at Vidiśā and thence extended his kingdom to Padmāvatī. The close similarity of the coins of Vṛishabha

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43 Ibid., pp. 180-81.

44 See *CASR*, X, pp. 37 ff.; *ASR* 1913-14, p. 214; ibid., 1914-15, p. 88; and *JNSI*, XV, p. 121.

45 See *DKA*, p. 49 and n. 1.

46 *JNSI*, XV, pp. 121 f.

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with those of the Western Kshatrapas of Malwa also suggests that they were his close neighbours. The date of Vṛishabha, as indicated by his coins, does not go against his being the founder of the Nāga dynasty about 150 A.D. It is not, however, possible to determine his connection with the Vidiśā Nāgas mentioned in the Purāṇas. That Vidiśā was included into the Nāga kingdom till the end of the dynasty is suggested by the discovery of the coins of Gaṇapatināga and other Nāga rulers at Vidiśā.

Jayaswal's identification of Śiśuka, the daughter's son of Yaśonandi, with Rudrasena I Vākāṭaka who was the daughter's son of the Bhāraśiva king Bhavanāga, leads to the identification of Yaśonandi with Bhavanāga, which cannot be maintained. According to Jayaswal's own view, the Nava Nāga or the Bhāraśiva dynasty to which Bhavanāga belonged, flourished *after* the fall of Bhutinandi's line, of which Yaśonandi was a member. Jayaswal's theory of the Nāga-Vākāṭaka merger, based on this identification, is, therefore, unacceptable.

With regard to the term Nava-Nāga, Cunningham took the word *nava* to mean 'nine'.[47] Richard Burn has also pointed out that the word *nava* in the Puranic passage signifies the numerical number 'nine' and not 'new' or a name.[48] Moreover, Nava of the Kauśāmbī coins cannot be regarded as a Nāga ruler only on the evidence of some doubtful symbols on his coins.[49] The suffix *nāga* is not added to his name, nor his coins bear any affinity to the well-known Padmāvatī coins of the Nāga series. His coins are found chiefly at Kauśāmbī and bear close resemblance with the Kauśāmbī coins. Although one coin of Nava is reported to have been found at Pawaya,[50] the type shows that it belongs to the Kauśāmbī series, and not to Padmāvatī. No coin of Nava is, however, found at Kantit (identified by Jayaswal with Kāntipurī), where Nava Nāgas are placed. Nava was, therefore, a local ruler of Kauśāmbī,[51]

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47 *JASB* 1865, p. 115.

48 *ABIA* 1933, p. 10; and *JBORS*, XXIII, pp. 269 ff.

49 Cf. *JNSI*, V, pp. 118-19.

50 See *CNKP*, pp. vi and 60.

51 For Nava's position as a Kauśāmbī ruler, see pp. 125-26 above.

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having no connection whatsoever with the Nāgas of Padmāvatī or any other place. If the Bhāraśiva dynasty was a Nāga one, there is no evidence to show that king Nava was its founder. The *Vishṇupurāṇa* passage, on which Jayaswal bases his arguments, has given rise to the ambiguity of the meaning of the word 'Nava'; but the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa* Purāṇas, which place 'Nine' (*nava*) Nāgas at Padmāvatī in contradistinction to 'Seven' (*sapta*) at Mathurā, leave no room for doubt as to the significance of the term 'Nava' in the Puranic passages.[52] The Nava Nāgas of the Purāṇas, therefore, did not constitute a dynasty of 'New' Nāgas, nor was it so called because it was founded by king Nava known to us from the Kauśāmbī coins, nor is there any evidence to show that Nava of Kauśāmbī was a Nāga ruler.

Again, the supposition that Vīrasena was the successor of Nava cannot be maintained in view of the wide difference of their coins, having practically nothing in common between them—those of Nava belonging to the Kauśāmbī series and those of Vīrasena probably to Mathurā.[53] And even if Vīrasena of the Mathurā coins is identified with his namesake of the Padmāvatī coins, there is nothing to prove his rule at Kāntipurī (Kantit according to Jayaswal). Moreover, if he was identical with Svāmī Vīrasena of the Jankhat inscription, he is to be placed towards the latter part of the third century A.D., and hence cannot be held responsible for the foundation of any of the Nāga houses of Padmāvatī, Kāntipurī or Mathurā which seem to have come to power, as we have seen above, at least seven generations before the time of Samudragupta.[54] Then,

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52 The *Vishṇupurāṇa* has "nava Nāgāḥ Padmāvatyāṁ Kāntipuryām Mathurāyām", while the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* Purāṇas give :—"Nava Nākās tu bhokshyanti puriṁ Champāvatiṁ nṛipāḥ Mathurāṁ cha puriṁ ramyāṁ Nāgā bhokshyanti sapta vai". The *eVāyupurāṇa* reads *Padmāvatiṁ* in place of *Champāvatiṁ*. The reading Padmāvatiṁ is confirmed by the *Vishṇupurāṇa*. See *DKA*, p. 53 and n. 2.

53 Cf. *BMC(AI)*, p. 154, Pl. XXI. 4 (Nava) and ibid., p. 280, Pl. XLV. 15 (Vīrasena).

54 For Vīrasena's coins and date, see pp. 166-69 above. Before the discovery of the Padmāvatī coins, Altekar held that Vīrasena (of the Mathurā coins) cannot be regarded as a Nāga ruler since none of his coins were found at Padmāvatī (*JNSI*, V, pp. 123-24). The discovery of the Padmāvatī coins may, however, show that Vīrasena represented by those coins was a Nāga ruler; but whether he was the same as Vīrasena of the Mathurā coins and of the Jankhat inscription cannot be proved.

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as to Nāgasena's supposed rule at Mathurā as a successor of Vīrasena, it may be pointed out that a tradition in the *Harshacharita* mentions Padmāvatī in relation to Nāgasena, and not Mathurā (see p. 314 below).

With regard to the so-called successors of Vīrasena at Kāntipurī, it may he observed that the illustrations of the Indian Musuem coins on which Jayaswal reads those names, are so indistinct that no confident reading can be proposed with their help, nor are their find-spots known. There is no evidence, therefore, to show that these rulers were Bhāraśiva Nāgas or that they ruled at Kāntipurī,[55] whatever may be its location.

4. CENTRES OF NĀGA POWER

As we have seen, most of the MSS. of the *Vāyupurāṇa* and the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* place nine Nāgas at Champāvatī and seven at Mathurā.[56] But there is no archaeological evidence to show that Champāvatī (as located by Jayaswal at Bhāgalpur in Eastern Bihar) was included in the Nāga kingdom. The *e-Vāyupurāṇa* reads 'Padmāvatī' in place of 'Champāvatī' and this reading is supported by the *Vishṇupurāṇa* which makes Padmāvatī, Kāntipurī and Mathurā the three centres of Nāga power.

As to the identifications of Padmāvatī and Kāntipurī, the Purāṇas give us no information. The drama *Mālatīmādhava* by Bhavabhūti which was laid in the city of Padmāvtī, however, supplies us with important details as to its geographical surroundings which help us in identifying the city.

Wilson identified Padmāvatī with Padmapura, the home of Bhavabhūti, which is described by the poet himself as situated in Vidarbha (Berar)[57]; but there is no ground in favour of this identification beyond a little similarity of names. Cunningham identified it with modern Narwar in the Shivpuri District on the basis of the identification of the four rivers Sindhu, Pārā, Lavaṇā and Madhumatī, as mentioned in the drama, with

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55 Cf. *JNSI*, V, pp. 125-27.

56 See note 52 above.

57 H. H. Wilson, *Theatre of the Hindus*, Vol. II, p. 95, note; cf. *ASR* 1915-16, p. 103.

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modern Sindh, Pārvatī, Nun and Mohwar or Madhuwar respectively.[58] The discovery of Nāga coins at Narwar led Cunningham to justify the identification. But although there is nothing to dispute Cunningham's identification of the four rivers, it is M. V. Lele's identification of the city of Pamāvatī with the modern village of Pawaya in the former Gwalior state (25 miles to the north-east of Narwar) that is now generally accepted.[59] For, the details given in the *Mālatīmādhava* agree more suitably with the position of this village than with that of Narwar. The archaeological remains at Pawaya attests to the existence of an ancient city from about the second century A.D. down to the late Gupta period. Amongst these remains, there is an inscribed image of Yaksha Maṇibhadra of about the first or second century A.D.; and the inscription is dated in the fourth regnal year of king Śivanandi who was probably a Nāga ruler, not known from any other source.[60] The numerous Nāga coins found in the locality during the rains indicate that the city was long under the sway of the Nāga rulers. Local tradition further supports the theory that the village was called Padmāvatī and the present name of the place, which is sometimes called Padam Pawaya, still preserves the ancient name in a corrupt form. All these evidences go in favour of the identification of Padmāvatī with Padam Pawaya.

The identification of Kāntipurī, another Nāga capital according to the *Vishṇupurāṇa*, is a point of dispute. As has been shown by Cunningham, this city should be looked for within some moderate distance of Mathurā[61] (as well as of Padmāvatī). He agrees with Wilford in identifying Kāntipurī with the ancient Kutwal or Kutwar on the Ahsin river, 20 miles to the north of Gwalior (in the Morena District of Madhya Pradesh). Jayaswal on the other hand, identified Kāntipurī with Kantit between Mirzapur and Vindhyāchal.[62] But Kantit has yielded not a single Nāga coin nor is there any other archaeological

58 *CASR*, II, p. 308.
59 Cf. *ASR* 1915-16, p. 103; and *EHI*[4], p. 300.
60 *ASR* 1915-16, pp. 105-06.
61 See *CASR*, II, p. 307 and *JASB* 1865, p. 116; cf. also *CNKP*, p. xxxvi.
62 *HI*, p. 29.

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evidence in favour of its identification with Kāntipurī, whereas a hoard of 18659 Nāga coins representing almost all the Nāga rulers known from Padmāvatī coins has been found at Kutwar.[63] Another lot of 958 coins collected from this site during the rains also represent six Nāga rulers.[64] The identification of Kāntipurī with Kutwar, which is almost equidistant from Mathurā and Padmāvatī seems, therefore, to be more probable than with Kantit which is far to the east of both Mathurā and Padmāvatī. The order of enumeration in the *Vishṇupurāṇa* as Padmāvatī-Kāntipurī-Mathurā prabably suggests the relative position of the three places.

Mathurā which has also yielded a number of Nāga coins might have been one of the centres of the Nāgas, as we have seen above (pp. 166 ff.). It, however, appears from coins that all the three centres of Nāga power, viz. Padmāvatī, Kāntipurī and Mathurā were ruled by the same family, i.e. the Bhāraśiva Nāgas, and not by three different families, as held by Jayaswal.[65] For, the coins found from these three places represent the same rulers and have the same types. Padmāvatī which has yielded the greatest number of Nāga coins representing all the known rulers, seems to be the main stronghold, and Kāntipurī and Mathurā were probably two other important cities of the Nāga kingdom.

We may get a rough idea about the extent of the Nāga kingdom from the find-spots of Nāga coins. Besides Vidiśā, Padmāvatī (Pawaya), Kutwar and Mathurā, Nāga coins are reported to have come from Narwar (Shivpuri District) and Gohad (Bhind District) near Kutwar, from a place in the Jhansi District and from Ujjain.[66] As shown by Cunningham, "the kingdom of Nāgas, therefore, would have included the greater part of the present territories of Bharatpur, Dholpur, Gwalior, and Bundelkhand, and perhaps also some portions of Malwa" (Ujjain-Bhilsa), thus embracing "nearly the whole of the country lying between the Jumna and the upper course of the Narbada, from the Chambal on the west to the *Kayan* or Cane on the

63 Cf. *CNKP*, pp. xxxvi and note.
64 Ibid., pp. xxxvi-vii.
65 Cf. ibid., pp. xxxvii-viii.
66 See ibid., pp. xxxviii-ix.

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east".[67] The statement of the Vākāṭaka records that the Bhāraśivas obtained the Bhāgirathī by their own valour suggests the idea that their home was away from the Ganges but that they extended their power as far as the valley of that river. There is, however, no other eivdence to show that the Nāga power extended upto the Ganges (i.e. Bhāgirathī) proper—beyond the Jamunā.

Thus, Jayaswal's theory of a great Bhāraśiva-Nāga empire does not bear scrutiny, although the Nāga kingdom might have extended over a considerable portion of Central India. The Purāṇas nowhere contain the slightest reference to such an extensive Nāga empire and other works of the period, e.g. the *Mahāmāyurī*, the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, etc., also suggest the existence of a large number of independent states in Northern India during this period.[68] The ten *Aśvamedhas* performed by the Bhāraśivas, as allued to in the Vākāṭaka records, might have commemorated some victories over the Kushāṇas, but that may not necessarily signify their imperial suzerainty over other powers in Northern India.[69] For, a number of *Aśvamedhas* are known to have been performed at that time even by rulers who had no claim to imperial achievements or conquests, while a great conqueror like Samudragupta performed only one.[70]

Again, there is no evidence to show that the Nāga rulers of Padmāvatī organised a powerful federation to oust the Kushāṇas, nor that the republican communites like the Yaudheyas and the Mālavas recognised the overlordship of the Nāgas.[71] A study of the indigenous coins of the post-Kushāṇa period shows that the Yaudhyas, the Mālavas, the Kuṇindas as well as the indigenous rulers of the Ayodhyā and Kauśāmbī areas—all played their own parts in driving out the Kushāṇas from Northern India. The theory of the Nāga leadership in the

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67 *JASB* 1865, pp. 116-17.

68 Cf. *JASB* 1939, pp. 179-80.

69 For the significance of *Aśvamedha*, cf. *Ind. Cult.*, I, pp. 114-15, and 704-06.

70 Pravarasena I Vākāṭāka *Mahārāja* performed 4, Mādhavavarman I Vishṇukuṇḍin *Mahārāja* performed 11, and, according to later tradition, Mayūraśarman Kadamba performed 18 *Aśvamedhas*, although none of them can be regarded as great a conqueror as Samudragupta : cf. *JASB* 1939, pp. 176-77.

71 Cf. Altekar, *Ind. Cult.*, XII, pp. 119 ff. Altekar, however, holds that the brunt of the struggle against the Kushāṇas was borne by the Yaudheyas—which is also a one-sided view.

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movement against the Kushāṇas is, therefore, to be abandoned and 'the mighty Bhāraśiva-Nāga empire remains one of the might-have-beens of history'.[72]

5. CHRONOLOGY OF THE NĀGA RULERS.

As observed by Cunningham, the chronology of the Nāgas of Padmāvatī depends on that of their contemporaries, the early Guptas.[73] Samudragupta claims to have forcibly uprooted the Āryāvarta kings,[74] most of whom appear to be Nāgas. The flourishing period of the Nāgas, therefore, preceded the rise of the Guptas. As the Purāṇas ascribe to the Guptas only the territories of Prayāga, Sāketa and Magadha,[75] they seem to depict the political condition of Northern India before the conquests of Samudragupta, when the Guptas were just beginning to rise. Samudragupta's contemporary Nāga kings were Gaṇapatināga and Nāgasena. The nine successions ascribed to Padmāvatī, therefore, should have preceded Gaṇapatināga. If the termination of Gaṇapati's rule is dated about 330 A.D. (approximate date of Samudragupta's conquests), and if we allow an average period of 20 years for each rule, the foundation of the Nāga dynasty cannot be dated earlier than 150 A.D. Thus, Jayaswal's dating of the rise of the Bhāraśivas about 150 A.D. is not untenable.

We have seen that, according to the Purāṇas, there were 'nine' Nāga kings at Padmāvatī. Coins, however, reveal the names of at least twelve rulers, besides that of Nāgasena, known from the *Harshacharita* and the Allahabad Pillar inscription. Cunningham procured from Narwar the coins of seven rulers, viz. Bhīmanāga, Bṛihaspatināga, Devanāga, Gaṇapatināga, Skandanāga, Vasunāga and Vyāghranāga.[76] Rapson published the coins of Prabhākaranāga.[77] In addition to the above eight rulers, the Padmāvatī coins represent at least four more kings,

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72 Cf. *ABORI*, XVIII, pp. 338 ff.

73 *JASB* 1865, p. 118.

74 Allahabad pillar inscription, *SI*, p. 257, l. 21.

75 See *DKA*, p. 53.

76 *JASB* 1939, pp. 115 ff. Vyāghranāga is so far known only from a solitary specimen from Narwar.

77 *JRAS* 1900, pp. 116-17.

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viz. Bhavanāga, Ravināga, Vibhunāga and Vṛishabha.[78] It is, however, possible that some of these princes ruled contemporaneously in different centres of the Nāga kingdom.

The Nāga coins are very small pieces of copper 'closely related to some of the later Mālava coins, but are rather larger and thicker.'[79] They generally bear on the obverse some symbols, such as the bull, peacock, trident, wheel etc., and on the reverse the name of the king along with the title *Mahārāja* or *Mahārāja Śrī* covering the whole flan of the coin in a circular way. The bull, being connected with the national cult of the Bhāraśivas, is the commonest symbol. Of the rulers represented by coins, only Bhavanāga and Gaṇapatināga are known from inscriptions. Bhavanāga has been identified with the Bhāraśiva king Bhavanāga referred to in the Vākāṭaka records, while Gaṇapatināga is identified with the king of the same name mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta.

The coins of Gaṇapatināga[80] are the most numerous of the issues of all the Nāga rulers. They were struck in three or four different types and come from all the known Nāga centres, viz. Vidiśā, Padmāvatī, Kāntipurī and Mathurā. His power therefore seems to have extended over a wide area, and his reign was probably fairly long. As his reign seems to have been terminated by Samudragupta about 330 A.D., his accession may be dated about the beginning of the fourth century A.D.

Bhavanāga is known from Vākāṭaka records to be the maternal grandfather of the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena I. And since the latter's grandson Rudrasena II was married to Chandragupta II's daughter Prabhāvatiguptā,[81] Rudrasena I might have been an earlier contemporary of Samudragupta. Thus, Bhavanāga, the maternal grandfather of Rudrasena I, was probably to some extent a contemporary of Samudragupta's grandfather Ghaṭotkacha. Bhavanāga may, therefore, be assigned to the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth

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78 For the coins of the Nāga Kings of Padmāvati, see H. V. Trivedi, *CNKP*.

79 *IMC*, p. 164.

80 See *CMI*, p. 24, Pl. II. 19; *IMC*, p. 178, Pl. XXI. 10; and *CNKP*, pp. 49-54, Pl. IV. 29-46.

81 Cf. Poona Copper-plate inscription of Prabhāvatiguptā, *SI*, p. 413.

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century A.D. and was not probably separated from Gaṇapatināga by more than one or two generations. The importance of Bhavanāga's position is implied by the Vākāṭaka records, which never fail to mention his relationship with the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena I. The adoption of the title *Adhirāja* as found on some of the coins of Bhavanāga[82] may also suggest that he was a distinguished Nāga ruler. He is, therefore, to be credited with some material achievements and possibly with some of the ten *Aśvamedhas*, known to have been performed by the Bhāraśivas.

For the succession of the other rulers of Padmāvatī, we have to depend only on the evidence of their coins. And if inter-relation of coin-types has any value in ascertaining the chronological inter-relation of the concerned rulers, we may suggest in the following way the approximate order of their succession.

As we have already seen, Vṛishabha who issued round coins with the device of the 'facing bull' on the obverse was most probably the first amongst the Nāga rulers so far known from coins.[83] H. V. Trivedi, however, reads his name as Vṛishabhava and makes him a successor of Vṛisha (*Vṛishād bhavaḥ*) or Vṛishanāga whose name he reads on some square coins coming from Padmāvatī and having the device of the 'facing bull' *on both sides*.[84] Although the fragmentary legends on the coins of the so-called Vṛishanāga do not permit us to be sure of the reading given by Trivedi, it is probable that the issuer of those square coins was an early Nāga ruler. Vyāghranāga whose unique coin of the Wheel device[85] has some affinity with those of this so-called Vṛishanāga in its *square* shape may also be placed early in the Nāga chronology.

The 'Bull' type was used by all the nāga rulers excepting Vyāghranāga, Vasunāga and probaly also Bhīmanāga.[86] Besides this almost common emblem, the Nāga princes are known to have used a number of other types, and, according to the common

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82 See *CNKP*, pp. 31-37, Pl. III. 19-38.

83 See p. 302 above. For Vṛishabha's coins see *CNKP*, p. 1, Pl. I. 1-2; and for the reading Vṛishabha see the author's article, in *JNSI*, XVI, p. 279.

84 See *CNKP*, pp. vi and xii-xiii, and p. 59, Pl. V. 6-19.

85 See *CMI*, p. 24, Pl. II. 22.

86 A 'Bull' type coin published by the present author in *JNSI*, XVI, Pt. 2, p. 52, has been doubtfully ascribed to Bhimanāga.

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use of a particular type, they may be divided into three main groups. Thus, Bhīmanāga, Vasunāga, Skandanāga and Bṛihaspatināga are linked together by the use of the 'Peacock' type,[87] and Bṛihaspatināga, Devanāga and Bhavanāga, by the 'Trident' type,[88] while Vibhunāga, Ravināga and Prabhākara (?), who used none of these types, may be grouped together by their use of the so-called 'Sickle-and-arrow' symbol (Battle-axe ?) on some of their coins.[89] Another common emblem was the 'Wheel', which was used by some of the rulers of all the three groups mentioned above, viz. by Vyāghranāga, Vasunāga, Bṛihaspatināga, Devanāga, Vibhunāga and Gaṇaptināga.[90]

Now, of the two groups of rulers depicting the 'Peacock' and the 'Trident' on their coins, Bṛihaspatināga alone struck coins with both the devices, and thus connects the two groups. And since Bhavanāga who belonged to the group of rulers using the 'Trident' type, was a near predecessor of Gaṇapatināga (probably the last member of the Nāga dynasty), we may hold that the rulers represented by the 'Trident' type succeeded those who struck coins with the 'Peacock' device.

Then, of the rulers who used the 'Peacock' type, Bhīmanāga and Vasunāga may be placed first as they are not so far known to have issued coins with the commonest device of the 'Bull', and are connected in this respect with their predecessor Vyāghranāga. Between the two, again, Bhīmanāga seems to be the earlier one, since the legend on his coins are written in large characters, in two straight lines across the flan of the coin, and not in a circular way as was the usual custom.[91]

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87 *CNKP*, pp. 2-4, Pl. 1. 3-13 (Bhimanāga); ibid., pp. 11-13, Pl. II. 1-11 (Vasunāga); ibid., pp. 6-9, Pl. I. 14-27 (Skandanāga); and *Padmāvati*, p. 27, type 3c (Bṛihaspatināga).

88 *CNKP*, pp. 18-19, Pl. II. 24-26 (Bṛihaspatināga); ibid., pp. 47-48, Pl. IV. 26-28 (Devanāga); and ibid., pp. 35-36, Pl. III. 31-34 (Bhavanāga),

89 Ibid., pp. 21-23, Pl. II. 27-35 (Vibhunāga); ibid., p. 26, Pl. III. 1-3 (Ravināga); and *JNSI*, XIV, pp. 77-78, Pl. V. 11-15 (Prabhākara).

90 *CMI*, p. 24, Pl. II. 22 (Vyāghranāga); *JASB* 1865, p. 123, fig. 12 (Vasunāga); *JNSI*, XIV, 79, Pl. V. 17 (Bṛihaspatināga); *CNKP*, pp. 43-47, Pl. IV. 15-25 (Devanāga); and *JNSI*, XVII, p. 49 (Pt. ii), Pl. VII. 7 (Vibhunāga); *JASB*, 1865, p. 123 (Gaṇendra).

91 This way of inscribing the legend in two horizontal lines may be compared with that of some other coins found at Pawaya and published in *JNSI*, XVII, Pt. i, pp. 53 ff. According to Trivedi, this similarity suggests that Bhima, who was

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Vasunāga is again connected with Skandanāga by the presence of a symbol like two daggers or short spears on their coins, marking the beginning and the end of the marginal legend. As Skandanāga used also the 'Bull' type[92] like others, he is to be placed later than Vasunāga who is not known to have used it. Bṛihaspatināga who struck coins with all the three devices, viz. the 'Bull',[93] the 'Peacock' and the 'Trident', may, therefore, be taken to have succeeded Skandanāga and have introduced the 'Trident' type.

Bṛihaspatināga appears to have been followed by Devanāga and Bhavanāga, who also struck coins with the 'Trident' type. Devanāga and Bhavanāga are further connected by the fact that the 'Trident' or *triśula*, while appearing as a main type on some of their coins, also occurs as a minor symbol on the reverse of some others, dividing the beginning and the end of the marginal legend.[94] Devanāga was probably earlier than Bhavanāga who is again connected by the common use of the 'Crescent' type with Vibhunāga of the third group of rulers,[95] who used neither the 'Peacock' nor the 'Trident' type.

As we have seen, Vibhunāga, Ravināga and Prabhākara are linked together by the fact that some of their coins are characterised by the presence of a symbol like 'Sickle-and-arrow' (Battle-axe ?) between the first and the last letters of the marginal legend, in place of the 'Triśūla' as appearing on the coins of Devanāga and Bhavanāga. Although the family designation 'Nāga' is not added to the name of Prabhākara on his coins, he may be included amongst the Nāga rulers of Padmāvatī, as his coins show marked similarity in type, size, shape, legends, etc. with the Nāga coins and are found along with them at Padmāvatī.[96] The coins attributed to Prabhunāga[97]

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probably the earliest of the Padmāvati rulers to shift to that place, may have imitated this design from his predecessors there : *CNKP*, p. ix.

92 Ibid., pp. 9-10, Pl. I. 28-31.

93 Ibid., pp. 14-17, Pl. II. 12-23.

94 Cf. *JASB* 1865, p. 123, No. IXa (Devanāga) ; and *JNSI*, V, p. 21, Pl. II-A, 1-2 and 5-6 (Bhavanāga).

95 *CNKP*, pp. 36-37, Pl. III. 35-38 (Bhavanāga) ; and ibid., p. 25, Pl. II. 40 (Vibhunāga).

96 Cf. *JRAS* 1900, p. 117 ; *JNSI*, XV, pp. 134-35 ; and ibid., XVII, Pt. 2, p. 52, Pl. VII. 10.

97 *JNSI*, XIV, pp. 77-78, Pl. V. 11-15.

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and Puṁnāga[98] probably belong actually to this king, since the readings on the coins in question are very doubtful and since the type is the same as that on the coins of Prabhākara who is the only Nāga ruler known to have struck coins with the 'Lion' as a device. If the coins with the Sickle-like object in the centre, which are attributed to Prabhunāga, actually form a variety of Prabhākara's coinage, then only we may connect Prabhākara with Ravināga and Vibhunāga, whose issues also exhibit that symbol. But it is difficult to say anything definitely about these three (?) rulers until more coins with clearer legends are forthcoming.

The twelve Nāga rulers mentioned above (excepting Nāgasena whose coins are not known) may thus be arranged in the following approximate chronological order :

1. Vṛishabha (or Vṛishanāga ?)
2. Vyāghranāga
3. Bhīmanāga
4. Vasunāga
5. Skandanāga
6. Bṛihaspatināga
7. Devanāga
8. Bhavanāga
9. Vibhunāga
10. Ravināga
11. Prabhākara
12. Gaṇapatināga

It may be noted in this connection that the first six princes (excepting Vṛishabha of the Vidiśā coins) used the title *Mahārāja* only, while the others added *Śrī* after *Mahārāja*.

Nāgasena who was one of the kings overthrown by Samudragupta, was another Nāga ruler, although not represented by coins. The *Harshacharita* refers to a tradition that the confidential deliberations of Nāgasena of Nāgakula, having been divulged by a Sārikā bird, led to his destruction at Padmāvatī.[99] D. C. Sircar suggests that 'after the overthrow of Gaṇapatināga, Samudragupta placed Nāgasena on the throne of Padmāvatī

98 *Padmāvati*, p. 28, No. 7.

99 *Harshacharita*, translation by Cowell and Thomas, Ch. VI, p. 192.

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as his vassal ; but later Nāgasena himself was also extirpated possibly as a result of an attempt on his part to assume independence.'[100] As Gaṇapati's coins are said to be more common at Mathurā than at Padmāvatī, Altekar holds that Gaṇapati might be ruling at Mathurā while Nāgasena was ruling at Padmāvatī during the time of Samudragupta.[101]

Nāgadatta, another ruler extirpated by Samudragupta, was probably a Nāga prince, as his name suggests. He is not known from any other source, and we are not sure where he actually ruled.[102] A Lahore copper seal of about the fourth century A.D. refers to prince Maheśvara-Nāga, son of Mahārāja Nāgabhaṭṭa ;[103] but the land over which the Nāga Mahārāja ruled cannot be determined. Matila who was defeated by Samudragupta is identified with Mattila whose seal has been found at Bulandsahr[104] and is taken by Jayaswal to be a Nāga prince ruling at Indrapura (Indor Khera).[105]

Achyuta, another king defeated by Samudragupta, is identified with Achyuta whose coins are found at Ahichchhatra. He was probably also a Nāga prince, as his coins bear close similarity as regards type, fabric, etc. with the Padmāvatī coins.[106] H. C. Ray Chaudhuri thinks that Nandi, defeated by Samudragupta, was another Nāga prince.[107]

We thus find that most of the rulers of Āryāvarta, uprooted by Samudragupta, were Nāga princes. But some members of the old houses continued to exist either as Gupta feudatories

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100 *AIU*, p. 170.

101 *NHIP*, VI, p. 37.

102 D. C. Sircar suggests that he was an ancestor of the viceregal Dattas of Puṇḍravardhana (*PIHC*, 1944, p. 81).

103 *CII*, III, p. 282. Jayaswal identifies Nāgadatta with Nāgabhaṭṭa, father of Maheśvaranāga, and suggests that they belonged to the Śrughna family of the Nāgas : *HI*, p. 34.

104 Fleet, *Ind. Ant*, XVIII, p.289.

105 *HI*, p 34. But the absence of any royal title before the name of Mattila in the seal has led scholars to doubt if the seal belonged to a king. Cf. *PHAI*,[6] p. 534

106 For Achyuta and his coins, see Ch. VII, p. 182 above. For a seal of Achyutavarman, a *Mahārāja*, from Rajghat, see *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 412.

107 See *PHAI*[6], pp. 535-36.

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or officers down to the decline of the Gupta empire; and the Guptas thought it prudent enough to maintain friendly relations with them. Chandrgupta II was married to a Nāga princess (Kuberanāgā) and a Nāga prince named Ṣarvanāga was a Gupta governor of the Doab under Skandagupta. Nothing is known about the family to which they belonged.

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CONCLUSION

In the preceding pages we have made an attempt to trace the rise and fall of the various indigenous states which sprang up after the overthrow of the Magadhan empire. This long period between the downfall of the Mauryas and the rise of the Guptas may be divided into two sub-periods. The first one saw the gradual disappearance of the imperial tradition of Magadha, giving place to the decentralising force of local autonomy within, and inviting series of foreign invasions from without. These two forces had to contend with each other, resulting in the extension of foreign (Kushāṇa) rule over practically the whole of Northern India, and the absorption of almost all the autonomous states within the Kushāṇa empire. The second sub-period was one of revival and regeneration. The Indian powers took advantage of the decline of the Kushāṇa supremacy after Vāsudeva and succeeded in driving away the foreign rulers from Northern India and reasserting their independence.

Thus, after the overthrow of the Mauryas, the Śuṅgas made an attempt to continue the imperial tradition for some time. But the establishment of successive foreign rule in the north-western parts of India and the rise of various autonomous states throughout Northern India show that the imperial structure had already crumbled down. The earliest to defy the imperial authority seems to be some autonomous cities, mainly situated in the central belt of India, between the Ganges and the Narmadā. Coins reveal the names of some such cities as Vārāṇasī, Kauśāmbī, Bhāgila, Kurara, Eṛakiṇa, Vidiśā, Tripurī, Māhishmatī and Ujjayinī. Madhyadeśa, as also known from numismatic evidence, became the seat of local monarchical states of Ayodhyā, Kauśāmbī, Mathurā, Kanauj, Pañchāla, Almora and others. A study of coins likewise reveals that the Punjab and Rajasthan regions gave rise to a number of tribal oligarchical states, which appear to be of three main categories: first, the *gaṇa* states of the Yaudheyas and Vṛishṇis of the Punjab, and of the Mālavas of the Jaipur area; secondly, the *janapadas* of the Agratyas (of Agrodaka), Rājanyas, Trigartas and Vemakis of the eastern Punjab, and of the Śibis of Madhyamikā near Chitor; and thirdly, the tribal monarchies (?) of the Audumbaras, Kulūtas,

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Kuṇindas and Madras of the Punjab region, which allowed royal titles to their chiefs. Besides these, there were the tribal states of the Ārjunāyanas, Maukharis and Uddehikas of the Rajasthan area.

But the political career of most of these states was short-lived and appear to have been terminated with the advance of the Scytho-Parthians about the end of the first century B. C. or of the Kushāṇas in the third quarter of the first century A.D. The Kushāṇa empire, which extended during the time of Kaṇishka over practically the whole of Northern India upto at least Vārāṇasī in the east, seems to have engulfed almost all the smaller autonomous states in Northern India.

The next period, however, witnessed the gradual weakening of the Kushāṇa hold on Northern India from about the middle of the second century A. D, and the revival of some of the old Indian states which reasserted their autonomy. Some new powers also came into existence. Thus, the Mālava and Yaudheya *gaṇas* became more powerful in the post-Kushāṇa period, after hard struggle with the Śakas and the Kushāṇas. The Kuṇindas reappeared in the third century A.D. as a separate political unit, although, at a later stage, their state was probably amalgamated with that of their more powerful neighbours, the Yaudheyas. The Ārjunāyanas and the Madrakas are known to have regained some sort of autonomy. The local ruling families of Ayodhyā and Kauśāmbī also reasserted their independence, while the Maghas of the Baghelkhand region soon brought Kauśāmbī under their rule. The Nāgas emerged as a new power and probably extended their sway from Vidiśā in the south to Padmāvatī in Gwalior and even as far as Mathurā and Pañchāla in the north.

We, thus, find that the rise and fall of the indigenous states were greatly interconnected with the advent and disappearance of the foreign powers. And just as the growth of the indigenous states was checked by the supremacy established by the foreigners, the Indian powers were also, in their turn, responsible to some extent for the decline of the foreign dynasties. In the early period, the sturdy opposition put up by the small states of the Punjab was one of the causes of the failure of Alexander's army to proceed beyond the Beas. During the time of Alexander's successors also, the steady pressure of the small republican states of the Punjab, bordering the dominions of the Indo-Greeks

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contributed to a great extent to the weakening of the Greek power in North-Western India. It is interesting to note that Cunningham long ago realised this fact and made a significant remark with regard to the fall of one of the latest Indo-Greek rulers. "The rule of Apollophanes I suppose," he observed, "to have been brought to a close by the increasing power of the native princes, rather than by the hostility of his own countrymen."[1]

The gradual disappearance of the Kushāṇa supremacy from Northern India after the first half of the second century A.D. was also due, to a considerable extent, to the rise of the indigenous powers. Although the main cause of the downfall of the Kushāṇas was their internal weakness, the contemporary indigenous powers contributed no small part in ousting them from Āryāvarta. No individual power may, however, be singled out and held responsible for the collapse of the Kushāṇa rule in the Gangetic valley. The leading part was apparently taken by the Yaudheyas, Mālavas and Nāgas. The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta shows that Northern India was already emancipated from foreign yoke when the Gupta emperor set out for conqests. The rulers of Āryāvarta defeated by Samudragupta were all Indian, the only foreign potentates who made obeisance to him being the *Daivaputra-Shāhi-Shāhānushāhi* (i.e. the descendant of the Kushāṇa emperors in North-Western India) and the Śaka-Muruṇḍas (or the Śaka satraps of Western India).

Politically, the period from the fall of the Mauryas to the rise of the Guptas is regarded as a 'dark' one, since it does not record the glorious achievements of a single great empire. Nevertheless, it opened a remarkable chapter in the administrative history of India. For, the period witnessed experiments with various forms of democratic government. It was, however, found that at that premature stage of national consolidation a powerful and centralised imperial government could only save India from internal dissension and foreign domination. This period thus paved the way for the foundation of the great Gupta empire.

The period is also one of immense cultural importance.[2]

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1 *NC* 1872, p. 178 ; also *CASE*, p, 296.

2 Cf. *AIU*, Chs. XVI-XXV.

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It saw the process of gradual fusion of two elements—foreign and indigenous. A new blood was added to Indian life, and the culture of the nation attained a new height in the succeeding Gupta age.

From the social point of view, the period brought about a great change. Indian society, flexible as it has always been, made an enormous attempt at absorbing foreign ways of life. Various non-Indian people who settled in India were taken into the Indian fold and given some status in the society, and the result was the creation of new sub-castes. In a word, the social structure was remodelled considerably.

The new and changing circumstances necessitated the change of religious outlook of the people, and new cults like Vaishnavism and Saivism came into being. Both these cults attracted people of non-Indian origin, including some ruling dignitaries. As we know, Heliodorus, a Greek ambassador of the Taxilan king Antialcidas, became a *Bhāgavata*, i.e. a follower of Vishṇu. The Kushāṇa king Kadphises II devoted himself to Saivism and called himself *Māheśvara*. The last great Kushāṇa ruler Vāsudeva too appears to have been a devotee of Śiva. Buddhism with its freedom from orthodoxy and rigid rules of social conduct had, however, a greater appeal to foreigners and tradition says that the Greek king Menander and the Kushāṇa monarch Kaṇishka were converted to Buddhism. The epithet *Satyadharmasthita*, as adopted by Kadphises I, indicates, according to some scholars, that he too was probably a Buddhist. Not only this. The process of Indianisation of foreigners was complete with the transformation of their names. The last great Kushāṇa monarch bore the name Vāsudeva. In like manner some Scythian satraps of Mathurā adopted the names Śivaghosha and Śivadatta, while quite a few princes of the satrapal families of Western India bore Indianised names like Ṛishabhadatta, Rudradāman, Rudrasena, Viśvasiṁha, etc.

The artistic activities of the period likewise adjusted themselves to the process of gradual change that was taking place in the national life of India. In the north-west, indigenous artistic impulses were considerably influenced by foreign styles, and the result was what is known as the Graeco-Buddhist or Gandhāra art. In the interior of India, on the other hand, an interesting transformation took place in the artistic expression

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of life, and the joys and sorrows of the common man were duly reflected on the art of various regional schools, such as that of Mathurā in the north, Sāñchī and Bhārhut in the centre, Karle and Bhājā in the west and Amarāvatī in the south-east. It was also in this age that stone came into wider use in architecture and sculpture, and the employment of this non-perishable material helps us in tracing the evolution and development of the plastic art of India.

An appreciable change is also noticed in the sphere of Indian currency. The purely indigenous punching and casting processes gradually gave place to the more sophisticated die-striking method popularised by the Greeks. And, as believed by some scholars, coins bearing issuer's name and sometimes his royal title were also made popular by the foreign rulers.

Again, this period witnessed remarkable literary activities. Patañjali, the great grammarian, flourished in this age, and his works, along with those of his predecessors Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, paved the foundation of the Classical Sanskrit of the Gupta period. This was also the age of finalisation of the epics and many of the *purāṇas*. The *Mahābhārata*, specially the *Bhagavatgītā* as incorporated in it, became the gospel of Indian life and greatly moulded the national character. The neo-Brahmanical literature in the forms of the *Dharmaśāstras* or *Smṛitis*, such as the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* or the *Manusmṛiti*, the *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, and others laid down codes of social conduct which have since formed the foundation of the Indian society.

It was also a "period of international contacts and cultural expansion". The series of foreign conquests opened up the gates of the East to the people of the West, and, as a result, Indians came in close touch with the outside world. India's trade with the Roman empire flourished considerably, and Roman gold poured into India in exchange of Indian merchandice. This influx of the yellow metal influenced the Indian currency to a great extent and the Kushāṇa monarchs of India introduced here an extensive gold coinage. It was due to this flow of gold that the Guptas in the succeeding period could maintain a gold currency, which excelled in artistic merits coins of all ages.

As a result of the gradual assimilation of the foreign elements with the indigenous ones there blossomed forth the superb

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culture of the succeeding Gupta period, aptly called the Classical Age. In order, therefore, to understand the trend that brought about the glorious achievements of the so-called Golden Age of Hinduism we have to follow the history of the period preceding it, which is so often characterised as one of the Dark Ages of India.

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APPENDIX

List of Inscriptions

Wea ppend below a list of relevant inscriptions indicating their bearing on our period. The inscriptions are enlisted according to their geographical distribution.

Punjab (*W. Pakistan*)

(1) Lahore Copper Seal inscription of Maheśvaranāga, c. 4th century A. D. (Fleet, *CII*, III, p. 282). It gives the name of the Nāga prince, Maheśvaranāga, son of Mahārāja Nāgabhaṭṭa.

(2) Shorkot (Jhang District) inscription of the year 83 (J.Ph. Vogel, *Ep.Ind.*, XVI,p.15). It marks the site of Śibipura, the capital of the Śibis of Alexander's time.

Rajasthan

(3) Bijayagaṛh (Bharatpur District) inscription of the Yaudheyas (Fleet, *CII*, III, p. 251, No. 58). It refers to a *Mahārāja Mahāsenāpati* who was the elected chief of the Yaudheya-gaṇa.

(4) Barnāla (Jaipur District) Yūpa inscription of Kṛita year 284 (Altekar, *Ep.Ind.*, XXVI, p. 118). It records the performance of seven *Soma* sacrifices by a king whose name ends in - vardhana.

(5) Barli (Ajmer District) fragmentary inscription (Jayaswal, *JBORS*, XVI, p. 67 ; R. R. Haldar, *Ind. Ant.*, LVIII, p. 229 ; D. C. Sircar, *JBRS*, XXXVII, p. 34 and XL, p. 8). It refers to a king named Bhāgavata and to Madhyamikā, the later capital of the Śibis.

(6) Nāndsā (Udaipur District) Yūpa inscription of Kṛita year 282 (A. S. Altekar, *Ep.Ind.*, XXVII, p. 252 ; M. Venkata-ramayya, *IHQ*, XXIX, p. 80) records the performance of the *Ekashashṭhirātra* sacrifice and other achievements of a Mālava chief, Nandisoma by name.

(7) Chitorgaṛh (Chitorgaṛh District) fragmentary inscription (D. C. Sircar, *Ep.Ind.*, XXXIV, p. 55) refers to Madhyamā, to be identified with Madhyamikā, capital of the Śibis.

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(8) Ghoshuṇḍī-Hāthibādā (Chitorgaṛh District) inscription of king Sarvatāta (D. C. Sircar, *SI*, p. 91 ; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, p. 198). The inscription (in two versions) refers to Sarvatāta, probably a local king ruling over the territory of the Śibis.

(9) Baḍvā (Kotah District) Yūpa inscriptions :

(a) Three inscriptions of the Kṛita year 295 (A. S. Altekar, *Ep.Ind.*,XXIII, p. 42) record the performance of the *Trirātra* sacrifice by three brothers, Balavardhana, Somadeva and Balasiṁha, sons of Mokhari Mahāsenāpati Bala.

(b) A fourth inscription (A. S. Altekar, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, p. 251) records the performance of the *Aptoryāma* sacrifice by Dhanutrātā, son of Hastin of the Mokhari clan.

Gujarat

(10) Junāgaṛh (Junāgaṛh District) Rock inscription of Rudradāman I, Year 72 (D. C. Sircar, *SI*, p. 169). It refers to the military glory of the Yaudheyas and testifies to their southward expansion and consequent conflict with the Śakas in the second century A.D.

Maharashtra

(11) Nasik (Nasik District) Cave inscription of the time of Nahapāna (D. C. Sircar, *SI*, p. 160). It bears testimony to the struggle between the Mālavas on the one hand, and the Uttamabhadras and their allies, the Śakas, on the other, and proves the occupation of the Nagar region by the Mālavas.

(12) Chammak (Amaravati District) Copper-plate inscription of the Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II, Regnal Year 18 (D. C. Sircar, *SI*, p. 418). It refers to the Bhāraśivas and to King Bhavanāga and the latter's relationship with Vākāṭaka Rudrasena I. Similar information is also gleaned from the Siwani (Seoni District) and the Dudia (Chhindwara District) inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas.

Madhya Pradesh

(13) Pawaya (Shivpuri District) Maṇibhadra Image inscription (M. B. Garde, *ASR* 1915-16, p. 105). It refers to a Nāga king,

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Śivanandi, and marks the site of Padmāvatī, the capital of the Nāgas.

(14) Besnagar (Vidiśā District) Garuḍa Pillar inscriptions :

(a) Of Year 14 of King Bhāgabhadra (D. C. Sircar, *SI*, p. 90).

(b) Of Year 12 of King Bhāgavata (D. R. Bhandarkar, *ASR* 1913-14, p, 190).

Bhāgabhadra and Bhāgavata were most probably Śuṅga princes, and these inscriptions suggest the inclusion of Vidiśā in the Śuṅga empire. The first inscription reveals the importance of Vidiśā by the fact that a Greek ambassador named Heliodorus was sent there from the court of the Indo-Greek king Antialcidas of Taxila.

(15) Sāñchī (Raisen District) inscription of Sātakarṇi on the southern gateway of Stupa I (Marshall, Foucher and Majumdar, *MS*, I,p. 277 ; R. P. Chanda, *MASI*, I,p.8). It indicates the transfer of power from the Śuṅgas to the Andhras in that region.

(16) Bhārhut (Satna District) inscriptions :

(a) Gateway inscription of Dhanabhūti (D.C. Sircar, *SI*, p.89). It contains the only epigraphical reference to the dynastic name 'Śuṅga' and indicates Śuṅga sovereignty over that region. It also speaks of a local line of rulers : Āgaraju, the father of Dhanabhūti, is probably to be identified with Agarāja of some Kauśāmbī coins.

(b) Railing inscription of prince Vādhapāla, son of king Dhanabhūti (Lüders List, No. 869). Vādhapāla of this inscription is probably to be identified with Vādhapāla-Dhanabhūti of a Mathurā inscription (Lüders' List, No. 125).

(c) Railing inscription of Nāgarakshitā, wife of Dhanabhūti (Lüder's List, No. 882).

(17) Giñjā (Rewa District) inscription of *Mahārāja* Bhīmasena of Year 52 (A. Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p,119). It refers to the first king of the Magha dynsaty.

(18) Bāndhogaṛh (Rewa District) inscriptions of the Maghas (N.P. Chakravarti, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 167 ff). These inscriptions introduce five rulers of the Magha dynasty : (1) Bhīmasena (Year 51) ; (2) his son Praushṭhaśrī (10 inscriptions of years 86,87, 88),

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(3) his son Bhaṭṭadeva or Bhadradeva (one of Year 90 and another undated); (4) Śivamagha (year lost); and (5) Vaiśravaṇa (two inscriptions, years lost). These dated inscriptions indicate that the Maghas began to rule first in the Rewa region.

Uttar Pradesh

(19) Jagatgrām (Dehra Dun District) Brick inscriptions of King Śilavarman (T.N. Ramachandran, *JOR*, XXI, p.1; *ibid.*, XXII, p. 100). These inscriptions commemorate the performance of four *Aśvamedha* sacrifices by King Śilavarman.

(20) Rāmnagar (Bareilly District) Coping Stone inscription of Dhruvamitra, identified with Dhruvamitra of the Pañchāla coins (R.D. Banerji, *JASB* 1909, p. 271).

(21) Mathurā (Mathurā District) inscriptions :

(a) Of Vishṇumitra, a Mitra king of Mathurā (N.G. Majumdar, *IHQ*, II, p. 441; P. Banerji, *JBRS*, XXX, p. 204).

(b) Of Sūryamitra, a king of Mathurā (unpublished, with Sri H.P. Poddar of Calcutta : Cf. *PIHC*, 1967, pp. 83-84).

(c) Of Vādhapāla Dhanabhūti, probably the son of Dhanabhūti of the Bhārhut inscriptions (E. Hultzsch, *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p.138).

(d) Lion Capital inscriptions of the time of Rājuvula (D. C. Sircar, *SI*, p. 112).

(e) Votive Tablet inscription of the time of Śoḍāsa, Year 72 (ibid., p. 118).

(f) Stone inscription of the time of Śoḍāsa (ibid., p. 119).

Inscriptions (d) to (f) inform us about the line of Śaka rulers at Mathurā.

(22) Morā (Mathurā District) inscriptions :

(a) Well inscription of a son of *Mahākshatrapa* Rājuvula (H. Lüders, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, p. 194). The Vṛishṇis are mentioned in this inscription.

(b) Brick inscriptions of Yaśamatā, wife of a king of Mathurā and daughter of Bṛihatsvātimitra (*ASR*, 1311-12, p. 128).

(23) Geneshrā (Mathurā District) inscriptions of :

(a) Kohaḍa, minister of Gomitra (*ASR* 1911-12, p. 129).

(b) Kshatrapa Ghaṭāka (ibid., p. 128).

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(24) Jankhat (Farrukhabad District) inscription of Year 13 of Svāmi Vīrasena, identified with Vīrasena of coins, who probably ruled in the Central Doab (F. E. Pargiter, *Ep.Ind.*, XI, p. 85).

(25) Musanagar (Kanpur District) Brick inscriptions of (a) Devīmitra (A. S. Altekar, *Ep. Ind.*, XXX, p. 118), and (b) Dāmamitra (D. C. Sircar, ibid., p. 99). These inscriptions inform us of two Mitra rulers.

(26) Allahabad (Allahabad District) inscriptions :

(a) Municipal Museum Yūpa inscription of Śivadatta, minister of a king, Regnal Year 23 (A. S. Altekar, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, p. 245).

(b) Pillar inscription of Samudragupta (D. C. Sircar, *SI*, p. 254) depicts the political condition of Northern India on the eve of Samudragupta's conquests and mentions a number of local rulers of Northern India including several Nāga princes, the tribal republics of the Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas, Yaudheyas, Madras, and the bordering foreign kingdoms of the Śakas and the Kushāṇas.

(27) Pabhosā (Allahabad District) Cave inscription of the tenth year of Ūdāka (D. C. Sircar, *SI*, p. 97) refers to the local ruling families of Pañchāla and Kauśāmbī, and the matrimonial ties existing between them.

(28) Kauśāmbī (Allahabad District) inscriptions of :

(a) The Mitras—

(i) Varuṇamitra (A. Ghosh, *Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 694).

(ii) Jyeshṭhamitra (*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, July 11, 1936, p. 5 ; cf. *PHAI*[e], p. 393, n. 1).

(iii) Rājamitra (*A. R. Ep.*, 1957-58, No. B 564).

(iv) Śivamitra (R. D. Banerji, *ASR* 1913-14, p. 262).

The above rulers, excepting Śivamitra, are also known from Kauśāmbī coins and these inscriptions prove the existence of a local line of rulers with *mitra*-ending names at Kauśāmbī.

(b) The Maghas :

(i) Śivamagha, year lost (D. R. Sahni, *Ep.Ind.*, XVIII, p. 159).

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(ii) Bhadramagha, Year 81 (Krishnadeva, ibid., XXIV, p. 253) ; Year 83 (*A.R.Ep.*, 1952-53, Nos. B 438, 439, 494) ; Year 86 (D.R. Sahni, *Ep.Ind.*, XVIII, p. 160) ; and Year 87 (Sten Konow, ibid., XXIII, p. 245).

(iii) Vaiśravaṇa, Year 107 (N. G. Majumdar, ibid., XXIV, p. 146).

(iv) Bhīmavarman, Year 140 (A. Ghosh, *Ind.Cult.*, III, p. 177) ; and Year 139 (Fleet, *CII*, III, p. 266).

The dated inscriptions of the Maghas are our main source of information about them.

(29) Sārnāth (Varanasi District) inscription of Year 40 of king Aśvaghosha (J. Ph. Vogel, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 171), to be identified with Aśvaghosha of the Kauśāmbī coins.

(30) Ayodhyā (Fyzabad District) inscription of Dhanadeva (D. C. Sircar, *SI*, p.96) contains the only epigraphical notice of Pushyamitra who is referred to as *Senāpati*, and the performer of two *Aśvamedhas*. It also informs us that the line of Dhanadeva claimed descent from Pushyamitra.

Bihar

(31) Kailvan (Patna District) inscription of Ārya Viśākhamitra, (Śaka) Year 108 (D. C. Sircar, *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, p. 229) testifies to the existence of a line of Mitra rulers in Magadha.

(32) Bodhgayā (Gaya District) Rail Pillar inscriptions of the queens of Indrāgnimitra and Brahmamitra, who probably belonged to the line of Mitra rulers of Magadha (*ASR* 1907-08, pp. 40, 225 ; ibid., 1908-09, p.147 ; B.M. Barua, *IHQ*, VI, pp. 1 ff).

Orissa

(33) The Hāthigumphā (Puri District) inscription of Khāravela (D. C. Sircar, *SI*, p. 206) testifies to the rise of the power of the Kaliṅgas and refers to Bṛihaspatimitra, the contemporary Mitra king of Magadha.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABIA	Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology.
ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
AGI	Ancient Geography of India, by A. Cunningham, 1924.
AIU	The Age of Imperial Unity (Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan's History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. II), Ed. by R. C. Majumdar.
A.R. Ep.	Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy.
ASR	Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports (in years).
BI	Buddhist India, by T. W. Rhys Davids, Calcutta, 1950.
Bib. Ind.	Bibliotheca Indica series.
BMC (AI)	A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum, Ancient India, by John Allan, London, 1936.
BSOS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies.
CAI	Coins of Ancient India, by A. Cunningham.
CASE	Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East, by A. Cunningham.
CASR	Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Reports (in Vols.).
CHI	Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, Ed. by E.J. Rapson.
CIC	Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins, by A. N. Lahiri, Calcutta, 1965.
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
CL	Carmichael Lectures, by D. R. Bhandarkar.
CLAI^2	Corporate Life in Ancient India, by R.C. Majumdar, Second edition, 1922.
CMI	Coins of Medieval India, by A. Cunningham.
CNKP	Catalogue of the Coins of the Nāga Kings of Padmāvatī, by H. V. Trivedi.
Compr. Hist. Ind.	A Comprehensive History of India, Vol. II, Ed. by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.
DHI^2	Development of Hindu Iconography, by J. N. Banerjea, Second edition, 1956.
DKA	(The Purāṇa Text of the) Dynasties of the Kali Age, by F. E. Pargiter.
EHI^4	Early History of India, by V. A. Smith, Fourth edition, 1924.

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EHK	An Early History of Kauśāmbī, by N. N. Ghosh.
Ep. Ind.	Epigraphia Indica.
ER	Excavations at Rairh, by K. N. Puri.
GAMI	(Studies in the) Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, by D. C. Sircar.
GBI	Greeks in Bactria and India, by W. W. Tarn.
GDAMI[2]	Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, by N. L. Dey, Second edition, 1927.
HI	History of India, by K. P. Jayaswal.
HP	Hindu Polity, by K. P. Jayaswal.
IAR	Indian Archaeology, A Review.
IC	Indian Coins, by E. J. Rapson.
IG	The Indo-Greeks, by A. K. Narain.
IGI	Imperial Gazetteer of India.
IHI	An Imperial History of India, by K. P. Jayaswal.
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly.
IIA	The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great, by J.W. McCrindle, New edition, 1896.
IMC	A Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Vol. I, by V. A. Smith, 1906.
Ind. Ant.	Indian Antiquary.
Ind. Cult.	Indian Culture.
JA	Journal Asiatique.
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBBRAS	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JBORS	Journal of the Bihar Orissa Research Society.
JBRS	Journal of the Bihar Research Society.
Jha Com. Vol.	(Ganganath) Jha Commemoration Volume.
JIH	Journal of Indian History.
JJRI	Journal of (Ganganath) Jha Research Institute.
JNSI	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
JOI	Journal of Oriental Institute (Baroda).
JOR	Journal of Oriental Research (Madras).
JPHS	Journal of the Punjab Historical Society.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London).
JUPHS	Journal of the United Provinces (Uttar Pradesh) Historical Society.
Mārk. P.	Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, by F. E. Pargiter.
MASI	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.

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MS	The Monuments of Sāñchī, by Marshall, Foucher and Majumdar.
NC	Numismatic Chronicle.
NHIP	A New History of the Indian People, Vol. VI (Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age), Ed. by A. S. Altekar and R. C. Majumdar.
NNM (NSI)	Numismatic Notes and Monographs of the Numismatic Society of India.
NS	Numismatic Supplement (of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal).
OHI	Oxford History of India, Vol.I, by V. A. Smith, Second edition, Oxford, 1923.
PAIOC	Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference.
PASB	Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
PHAI^{6}	Political History of Ancient India, by H. C. Raychaudhuri, Sixth edition, 1953.
PIHC	Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.
PMC	A Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Vol. I, by R.B. Whitehead, 1914.
PNSI	Proceedings of the Numismatic Society of India.
QJMS	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.
SGAI	State and Government in Ancient India, by A. S. Altekar.
SI	Select Inscriptions, Vol. I, by D. C. Sircar.
SAIN	A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics, by S. K. Chakrabortty.
TCCAI	Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India, by B. Sahni, *NNM (NSI)*, No. 1, 1945.

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KEY TO PLATES

N.B. Unless otherwise stated, the illustrated coins are die-struck and in copper, and bear legends in the Brāhmī script. For the illustration of symbols see Plate VI.

*The references to pages where the following coin-types have been noticed or discussed in the book are noted under each description.

PLATE I

(Almora, Ārjunāyana, Audumbara, Ayodhyā and Eran)

1. ALMORA : Śivadatta (rd.)—*BMC(AI)*, Pl.XIV. 7.

Obv. S 21 in the centre ; around, bull to r. before S 38, followed by legend, *Sivadatasa.*

Rev. S 25.

*[Cf. p. 188, n. 125]

2. ALMORA : Śivapālita (rd.)—*BMC(AI)*, Pl. XIV. 8.

Obv. Rude human figure in the centre ; around, bull before S 38, and legend, *Śivapālitasa.*

Rev. S. 25.

*[Cf. p. 188, n. 126]

3. ALMORA : Haridatta (rd.)—*BMC (AI)*, Pl. XIV. 9.

Obv. S 21 in the centre ; around, bull before S 38 and legend *Haridatasa.*

Rev. S 25.

*[Cf. p. 188, n. 124]

4. ĀRJUNĀYANA (rd.)—*BMC (AI)*, Pl. XIV. 11 (cf. *IMC*, p. 166, Pl. XX. 10)

Obv. Bull r. before *yūpa.* Circular legend above, *Ajunāyanana jaya (Ārjunāyanānāṁ jayaḥ).*

Rev. Elephant to r. before tree-in-railing.

*[Cf. p. 279, n. 6]

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5. AUDUMBARA : Śivadāsa (sqr.)—*BMC* (*AI*), Pl. XV. 1.

Obv. A domed and pillared building on l. and trident-battle-axe on r. Brāhmī legend, *..barasa.*

Rev. Tree-in-railing on l. and forepart of elephant on r.; wavy line below. Kharoshṭhī legend, *Sivadasasa.*

*[Cf. p. 218, n. 23]

6. AUDUMBARA : Rudradāsa (rect.) —*BMC* (*AI*), Pl. XV. 2.

Obv. As on No. 5. Brāhmī legend, ... *Odubarisa.*

Rev. As on No. 5. Kharoshṭhī legend, *Rudradasasa.*

*[Cf. p. 218, n. 23]

7. AUDUMBARA : Dharaghosha (AR, rd.) — *BMC* (*AI*), Pl. XIV. 14.

Obv. Trident-battle-axe on l. and tree-in-railing on r. Circular Brāhmī legend, (above) *Mahadevasa rajño Dharaghoshasa* (below) *Odubarisa.*

Rev. Figure of a sage facing. Marginal Kharoshṭhī legend, (above) *Mahadevasa raña Dharaghoshasa* (below) *Odubarisa*, and across the figure, *Viśpamitra.*

*[Cf. p. 219, n. 28]

8. AUDUMBARA : Āryamitra (rd.)—*BMC*(*AI*), Pl.XV.13.

Obv. Elephant to l.; tree on r. Brāhmī legend, *Ajamitasa.*

Rev. Male figure standing to l. with spear in hand. Kharoshṭhī legend, *Raña Ajami....*

*[Cf. p. 222, n. 38]

9. AYODHYĀ : uninscribed (cast, rd.)—*BMC*(*AI*), Pl.XVI.10.

Obv. Svastika over fish.

Rev. Taurine over steel-yard.

*[Cf. p. 75, n. 16]

10. AYODHYĀ : Dhanadeva (cast, rect.)—*BMC*(*AI*), Pl.XVI.17.

Obv. Bull to r. before S 5. Legend above, *Dhanadevasa.*

Rev. Standing figure (Lakshmī ?) between S 13 and S 26; othor minor symbols above, wavy line below.

*[Cf. p. 140, n. 168]

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11. AYODHYĀ : *Rājan* Kumudasena (rd.)—*BMC(AI)*, Pl.XVII.17.
Obv. In incuse square, bull to l. before S 6. Legend below, *Rājña Kumudasenasa.*
Rev. S 24a.
*[Cf. p. 143, n. 181]

12. AYODHYĀ : Āyumitra (rd.)—*BMC(AI)*, Pl.XVII.18 (cf. *IMC*, p. 150, Pl. XIX. 17).
Obv. Bull to l. before S 45. Legend, *Ayumitasa.*
Rev. Cock or *haṁsa* to r. before palm-tree over a wavy line.
*[Cf. p. 144, n. 195]

13. ERAN : Dharmapāla (sqr.)—*BMC(AI)*, Pl.XVIII.6.
Obv. Legend, *Dhamapālasa* written negatively from r. to l. along the margin.
Rev. Blank.
*[Cf. p. 81, n. 57]

PLATE II

(Kanauj, Kauśāmbī, Kulūta and Kuṇinda)

1. KANAUJ : Brahmamitra (rd.)—*BMC(AI)*, Pl.XIX.11.
Obv. Three symbols, S 27, S 12 and S 3. Legend below, *Brahmamitasa.*
Rev. Nandipada-standard in railing (cf. S 56).
*[Cf. p. 146, n. 8]

2. KANAUJ : Vishṇudeva (rd.)—*BMC(AI)*, Pl.XIX.13.
Obv. Three symbols, S 12, S 9 and S 23. Legend below, *Vishṇudevasa.*
Rev. Horse to l. before *yūpa* (?).
*[Cf. p. 147, n. 12]

3. KAUŚĀMBĪ : uninscribed (cast, rd.)—*IMC*, Pl.XX.5.
Obv. Tree-in-railing above six-peaked hill in the centre ; eight-spoked wheel and *nandipada* symbol on l. ; Ujjain symbol and *svastika* on r.
Rev. So-called 'Lanky Bull' walking to l. ; standard on l.
*[Cf. p. 78, n. 34]

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4. KAUŚĀMBĪ : Bahasatimitra I (cast, rd.)—*BMC(AI)*, Pl.XX.1.

Obv. Horse to r. ; *nandipada* symbol, and another illegible symbol within a square on r. Legend above, *Bahasatimitasa.*

Rev. Elephant r. on pedestal ; tree-in-railing behind ; and Ujjain symbol above l.

*[Cf. p. 109, n. 3]

5. KAUŚĀMBĪ : Bahasatimitra II (rd.)—*BMC(AI)*, Pl.XX.2.

Obv. Tree-in-railing in centre ; S 4 on l. ; and wavy line on r. Legend below, *Bahasatimitasa.*

Rev. Bull to r. before S 2.

*[Cf. p. 109, n. 4]

6. KAUŚĀMBĪ : Parvata (sqr.)—*BMC(AI)*, Pl.XX.10.

Obv. Three-peaked hill, tree-in-railing and wavy line. Legend below, *Pavatasa.*

Rev. Bull to r.

*[Cf. p. 113, n. 29]

7. KAUŚĀMBĪ : Dhanadeva (rd.)—*BMC(AI)*, Pl.XX.12.

Obv. Within square frame, tree-in-railing and legend below, *Dhanadevasya.*

Rev. Bull to l. before three-peaked hill ; trident behind.

*[Cf. p. 124, n. 88]

8. KAUŚĀMBĪ : Śivamagha (rd.)—Coin in C. Valdettaro's collection.

Obv. Lower portion of tree-in-railing and three-peaked hill. Legend below in large characters, [*Si*] *vamagha* [*sa*].

Rev. Bull to l. (?).

*[Cf. p. 127, n. 111]

9. KAUŚĀMBĪ : Bhīmavarman (rd.)—Coin in C. Valdettaro's collection.

Obv. Parts of symbols as on No.8. Legend below in large characters, [*Bhī*] *mavama* [*sa*].

Rev. Illegible.

*[Cf. p. 127, n. 117]

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10. KULŪTA : Vīrayaśas (rd.)—*BMC* (*AI*), Pl. XVI. 4.

Obv. 12-spoked wheel surrounded by a circle of dots. (Brāhmī) legend, (left) *Rājña Kolūtasya* (*right*) *Vīrayaśasya*, separated by two minor symbols.

Rev. S 52 surmounted by S 53 ; S 31 on l., and S 54 on r. Kharoshṭhī *ra* to r. and *ña* to l. of hill (S 52).

*[Cf. p. 229, n. 71 ; also Preface, p. x, note]

11. KUṆINDA : Amoghabhūti (AR, rd.)—*BMC*(*AI*), Pl.XXII.1.

Obv. Deer to r. ; female figure in front ; S 39 above back of deer, S 40 above horns of deer, and S 55 below deer. Circular Brāhmī legend, *Rājñaḥ Kuṇiṁdasya Amoghabhutisya Mahārājasya.*

Rev. Six symbols : S 51 surmounted by S 33 ; S 29 above S 48 on l.; and S 13 on r. ; wavy line below. Kharoshṭhī legend, (above) *Raña Kuṇidasa Amoghabhutisa* (below) *Maharajasa.*

*[Cf. p. 236, n. 104]

12. KUṆINDA : Amoghabhūti (rd.)—*BMC*(*AI*), Pl.XXII.10.

Obv. & *Rev.* As on No. 11, but in copper and of coarse fabric, and the Kharoshṭhī legend on the reverse is replaced by a borde of dots.

*[Cf. p. 236, n. 107]

13. KUṆINDA : Chhatreśvara (rd.)—*BMC*(*AI*), Pl.XXIII.12.

Obv. Male figure (Śiva) standing facing, holding trident-battle-axe in r. hand ; Marginal legend, *Bhagavata Chatreśvara Mahātmanaḥ.*

Rev. Deer to l. ; S 40, S 13, S 51, S 3, wavy line and other minor symbols.

*[Cf. p. 236, n. 110]

PLATE III

(Mālava and Mathurā)

1. MĀLAVA (rd.)—*IMC*, Pl.XX.13.

Obv. Legend in two lines : (1) *jaya.* (2) *Mālavān*[*āṁ*].

Rev. Indistinct (not illustrated).

*[Cf. p. 267, n. 33]

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2. MĀLAVA (rect.)—*IMC*, Pl.XX.15.

Obv. Tree-in-railing across. Legend, (above) *Mālava* (below) *nā jayo*.

Rev. Vase in dotted border.

*[Cf. p. 267, n. 33]

3. MĀLAVA (rect.)—*IMC*, Pl.XX.16.

Obv. As above.

Rev. Lion r.

*[Cf. p. 267, n. 33]

4. MĀLAVA (rd.)—*IMC*, Pl. XX. 19.

Obv. Triśūla in centre. Legend, (above) *Mālava* (below) *nā jaya*.

Rev. Recumbent bull r. within dotted border.

*[Cf. p. 267, n. 33]

5. MĀLAVA (rd.)—*IMC*, Pl. XX. 21.

Obv. Uncertain central device. Marginal legend, *Mālava gaṇa-* [*saya jaya*].

Rev. King's head r.

*[Cf. p. 267, n. 33]

6. MĀLAVA (rd.)—*IMC*, Pl. XX. 22.

Obv. Obscure central device. Marginal legend in large characters, *Malava* [*ga*] (reversed from r. to l.).

Rev. Fantail peacock.

*[Cf. p. 265, n. 21]

7. MĀLAVA : Magojava (rect.) — *IMC*, Pl. XXI. 3.

Obv. In incuse, legend, *Magojava* in large characters.

Rev. Lion r.

*[Cf. p. 267, No. 8]

8. MĀLAVA : Gajava (sqr.) — *IMC*, Pl. XXI. 4.

Obv. Legend, *Gajava* in incuse.

Rev. Defaced.

*[Cf. p. 267, No. 15]

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9. MATHURĀ : Gomitra II (sqr.) —*BMC* (*AI*), Pl. XXV. 1.

Obv. Lakshmī standing facing with lotus in uplifted r. hand ; S 46 on l. ; S 28 above S 43 on r. ; and S 10 below. Legend above, *Gomitasa.*

Rev. Three elephants facing with riders.

*[Cf. p. 152, n. 35]

10. MATHURĀ : Gomitra II (rd.)—*BMC* (*AI*), Pl. XXV. 5-6.

Obv. Lakshmī as above. Legend, *Gomitasa.*

Rev. Three elephants with riders.

*[Cf. p. 155, notes 62 & 63]

11. MATHURĀ : Vishṇumitra (rd.)—*BMC* (*AI*), Pl. XXV. 16.

Obv. Lakshmī as above. Legend above, *Vishṇumitasa.*

Rev. Three elephants with riders.

*[Cf. p. 152, n. 38]

12. MATHURĀ : Sūryamitra (rd.)—*BMC* (*AI*), Pl. XXV. 17.

Obv. Lakshmī as above. Legend above, *Sūyamitasa.*

Rev. Three elephants with riders.

*[Cf. p. 152, n. 37]

13. MATHURĀ : Rāmadatta (rd.)—*BMC*(*AI*), Pl.XXIV.10.

Obv. In incuse, Lakshmī standing facing ; S 46 and S 42 on l. ; S 44, S 43, and S 8 on r. ; wavy line below. Legend above, *Rājñaḥ Rāmadatasa.*

Rev. Very degenerate copy of the three-elephants type.

*[Cf. p. 157, n. 71]

14. MATHURĀ : Rājuvula (AR,rd.)—*BMC*(*AI*), Pl.XXVI.7.

Obv. Diademed bust of king to r. Circular legend in Greek, *Basileōs Basileōn Sōteros Raiu* (much blundered).

Rev. Athena to l. holding aegis in l. hand and hurling thunderbolt in r. Circular Kharoshṭhī legend, *Apratihatachakrasa Chhatrapasa Rajuvulasa.*

*[Cf. p. 162, n. 95]

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15. MATHURĀ : Rājuvula (rd.)—*BMC(AI)*, Pl.XXVI.12.
Obv. Lakshmī standing facing between S 20 on l. and S 18 on r. Marginal (Brāhmī) legend, *Mahākhatapasa Rājuvulasa.*
Rev. Lakshmī being sprinkled by elephants on either side (illegible).
*[Cf. p. 163, n. 99]

16. MATHURĀ : Śoḍāsa (rd.)—*BMC(AI)*, Pl.XXVI.16.
Obv. Lakshmī facing between S 20 on l. and S 46 on r. Marginal (Brāhmī) legend, *Mahakhatapasa putasa Khatapasa Śoḍāsasa.*
Rev. Abhisheka of Lakshmī.
*[Cf. p. 164, n. 103]

17. MATHURĀ : Śivadatta (rd.)—*BMC(AI)*, Pl.XXV.26.
Obv. Lakshmī standing facing on S 41 between S 20 on l. and S 46 on r. Marginal (Brāhmī) legend, *Khatapasa Śivadatasa.*
Rev. Horse to l.
*[Cf. p. 165, n. 115]

PLATE IV

(Nāga, Pañchāla and Rājanya)

1. NĀGA : Bhavanāga (rd.)—Coin in the author's collection.
Obv. Trident in the centre. Circular legend, *Mahārāja Bhava...*
Rev. Humped bull recumbent to l.
*[Cf. p. 311, n. 86]

2. NĀGA : Devanāga (rd.)—Coin in the author's collection.
Obv. Circular legend, *Mahārāja Śrī Deva...*
Rev. Eight-spoked wheel in a dotted circle.
*[Cf. p. 312, n. 90]

3. NĀGA : Gaṇapatināga (rd.)—*IMC*, Pl.XXI.10.
Obv. Circular legend, *Mahārāja Śrī Gaṇendra.*
Rev. Recumbent bull to l. in a dotted circle.
*[Cf. p. 311, n. 86]

4. NĀGA : Vibhunāga (rd.)—Coin in the author's collection.
Obv. Battle-axe (or sickle and arrow) in the centre. Circular legend, *Mahārāja Srī Vibhu-*
Rev. Humped bull to l.
*[Cf. p. 312, n. 89]

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5. PAÑCHĀLA : Agnimitra (rd.)—*BMC(AI)*, Pl.XXVIII.8.
   Obv. Within square incuse, three Pañchāla symbols, S 37, S 43 and S 36, and legend below, *Agimitrasa.*
   Rev. Male figure (Agni) with flaming hair, standing facing on platform between two pilllars.
   *[Cf. p. 172, n. 15]

6. PAÑCHĀLA : Agnimitra (rd.)—*BMC(AI)*, Pl. XXVIII.11.
   Obv. As on No. 5.
   Rev. Agni standing on lotus.
   *[Cf. p. 178, n. 68]

7. PAÑCHĀLA : Bhadraghosha (rd.)—*BMC(AI)*, Pl.XXVIII.3.
   Obv. The three Pañchāla symbols as on No. 5, and legend below, *Bhadraghoshasa.*
   Rev. Female deity (Bhadrā) standing facing on lotus.
   *[Cf. p. 172, n. 17]

8. PAÑCHĀLA : Bhānumitra (rd.)—*BMC(AI)*, Pl.XXVII.15.
   Obv. The three Pañchāla symbols, and legend, *Bhānumitrasa.*
   Rev. Sun between railed pillars.
   *[Cf. p. 172, n. 18]

9. PAÑCHĀLA : Bhūmimitra (rd.)—*BMC (AI)*, Pl. XXVIII. 6.
   Obv. The three Pañchāla symbols, and legend, *Bhūmimitrasa.*
   Rev. Male figure (Bhūmi ?), very similar to that on Agnimitra's coin, No. 5 above.
   *[Cf. p.172, n. 19]

10. PAÑCHĀLA : Jayamitra (rd.)—*BMC (AI)*, Pl. XXVIII. 18.
    Obv. The three Pañchāla symbols, and legend below, *Jayamitrasa.*
    Rev. Male figure standing facing on pedestal with pillars.
    *[Cf. p. 172, n. 25]

11. PAÑCHĀLA : Phālgunīmitra (rd.)—*BMC (AI)*, Pl. XXVII. II.
    Obv. The three Pañchāla symbols, and legend (below), *Phagunimitrasa.*
    Rev. Female deity (Phālgunī ?) standing facing on lotus ; S 17 on l. and star above head.
    *[Cf. p. 172, n. 26]

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12. PANCHĀLA : Sūryamitra (rd.)—*BMC* (*AI*), Pl. XXVII. 8.

Obv. The three Pañchāla symbols, and legend, *Suyamitrasa.*

Rev. Sun over S 48 between pillars on railing.

*[Cf. p. 172, n. 31]

13. PAÑCHĀLA : Achyuta (rd.)—*BMC* (*AI*), Pl. XIV. 5.

Obv. Legend, *Achya* in large characters.

Rev. Eight-spoked wheel.

*[Cf. p. 182, n. 100]

14. RĀJANYA (rd.)—*IMC*, Pl. XXI. 11.

Obv. Standing figure with r. hand raised. (Brāhmī) legend around, *Rājaña janapadasa.*

Rev. Bull to l. within rayed circle.

*[Cf. p. 251, n. 36]

PLATE V

(Vemaki, Vṛishṇi and Yaudheya)

1. VEMAKI : Rudravarman (AR, rd.)—*BMC* (*AI*), Pl. XIV. 13.

Obv. Elephant r. ; trident with axe on r. Circular Brāhmī legend, *Rajñ[o] Vemakisa Rudravarmasa vijayaka.*

Rev. Bull r. ; lotus in front. Marginal Kharoshṭhī legend, *Raña Vamakisa Rudravarmasa vijayaya.*

*[Cf. p. 255, n. 60]

2. MAHĀDEVA : (AR, rd.)—*BMC* (*AI*), Pl. XIV. 16.

Obv. Elephant l. ; trident on l. Brāhmī legend, (above) *Bhagavata Mahadevsa* (below) *Rājarāja.*

Rev. Bull to r. Illegible symbol in front. Kharoshṭhī legend, (above) *Bhagavata Mahadevasa* (below) *Rajaraña.*

*[Cf. p. 220, n. 29, and p. 257, n. 69]

3. MAHĀDEVA : (AR, rd.)—*BMC* (*AI*), Pl. XIV. 17.

Obv. Elephant and legend as on No. 2 above.

Rev. Bull to l. Kharoshṭhī legend as on No. 2 above.

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4. VṚISHṆI (AR, rd.)—*BMC(AI)*, Pl. XVI. 5.
   Obv. Animal, half-lion and half-elephant ; behind S 56. Circular Brāhmī legend, *Vṛishṇi-rājajñāgaṇasya tratarasya.*
   Rev. 12-spoked wheel. Circular Kharoshṭhī legend, *Vṛishṇi-rājaṇṇa-gaṇasa tratarasa.*
   *[Cf. p. 242, n. 153]

5. YAUDHEYA : Mahārāja (?) (rd.)—*BMC(AI)*, Pl. XXXIX. 10.
   Obv. Three minute symbols, S 3, S 12 and solar symbol. Legend below, *Mahārājasa* (?).
   Rev. A symbol.
   *[Cf. p. 203, n. 21]

6. YAUDHEYA : Bahudhānyaka (rd.)—*BMC(AI)*, Pl. XXXIX. 12.
   Obv. Bull r. before S 64 on r. Circular legend, (above) *Ɣaudheyānaṁ* (below) *Bahudhañake*—both parts negatively written from r. to l.
   Rev. Elephant r. ; *nandipada* above, and flying pennon behind.
   *[Cf. p. 203, n. 23]

7. YAUDHEYA : Brahmaṇya (AR, rd.)—*BMC(AI)*, Pl. XXXIX. 21.
   Obv. Six-headed Kārttikeya standing facing with spear in r. hand. Circular legend, *Bhagavataḥ svāmino Brahmaṇyasya Ɣaudheyasya.*
   Rev. Goddess (Shashṭhī) standing facing on lotus between S 51 surmounted by S 33 on l., and S 13 on r. ; wavy line below.
   *[Cf. p. 204, n. 27]

8. YAUDHEYA : Brahmaṇyadeva (rd.)—*BMC(AI)*, Pl. XXXIX. 22.
   Obv. One-headed Kārttikeya standing facing holding spear in r. hand. (Restored full) legend, *Bhagavataḥ savāmino Brahmaṇya-devasya Kumārasya.*
   Rev. Goddess as on No. 7 above ; but the symbols are transposed.
   *[Cf. p. 204, n. 27]

9. YAUDHEYA : Brahmaṇyadeva (rd.)—*IMC*, Pl. XXI. 15.
   Obv. Six-headed Kārttikeya standing facing holding spear in r. hand. Legend as on No. 8 above.
   Rev. Six-headed goddess between symbols as on No. 7 above.
   *[Cf. p. 204, n. 28]

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10. YAUDHEYA : Gaṇa coin (rd.)—*IMC*, Pl. XXI. 18.

Obv. One-headed Kārttikeya standing facing holding spear in r. hand ; peacock to l. on r. Circular legend, *Yaudheya-gaṇasya jaya*[*ḥ*].

Rev. Female deity walking to l. with r. hand raised and l. hand on hip, all within border of dots.

*[Cf. p. 205, n. 33]

11. YAUDHEYA : Gaṇa coin (*dvi*) (rd.)—*BMC*(*AI*), Pl. XL. 5.

Obv. As on No. 10., with the addition of *dvi* at end of legend.

Rev. Deity as on No. 10 above, with the addition of flower-vase on l., and inverted *nandipada* on r.

*[Cf. p. 205, n. 34]

12. YAUDHEYA : Gaṇa coin (*tri*) (rd.)—*IMC*, Pl. XXI. 20.

Obv. As on No. 10, with the addition of *tri* at end of legend.

Rev. Deity as on No. 10, with the addition of *śaṅkha* on l., and S 54 on r.

*[Cf. p. 205, n. 34]

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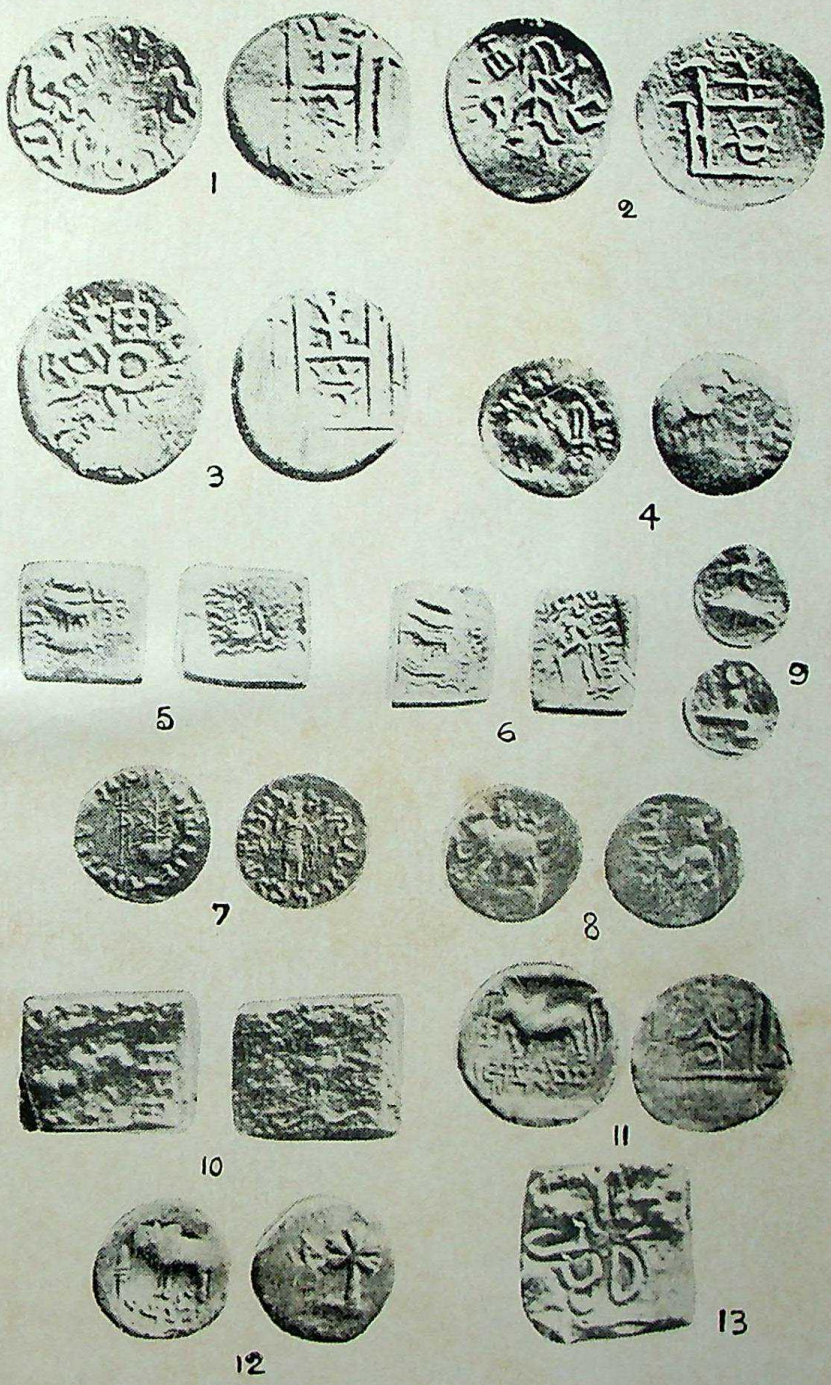

Almorā (1-3), Ārjunāyana (4), Audumbara (5-8), Ayodhyā (9-12) and Eran (13)

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Kanauj (1-2), Kauśāmbī (3-9), Kulūta (10) and Kuṇinda (11-13)

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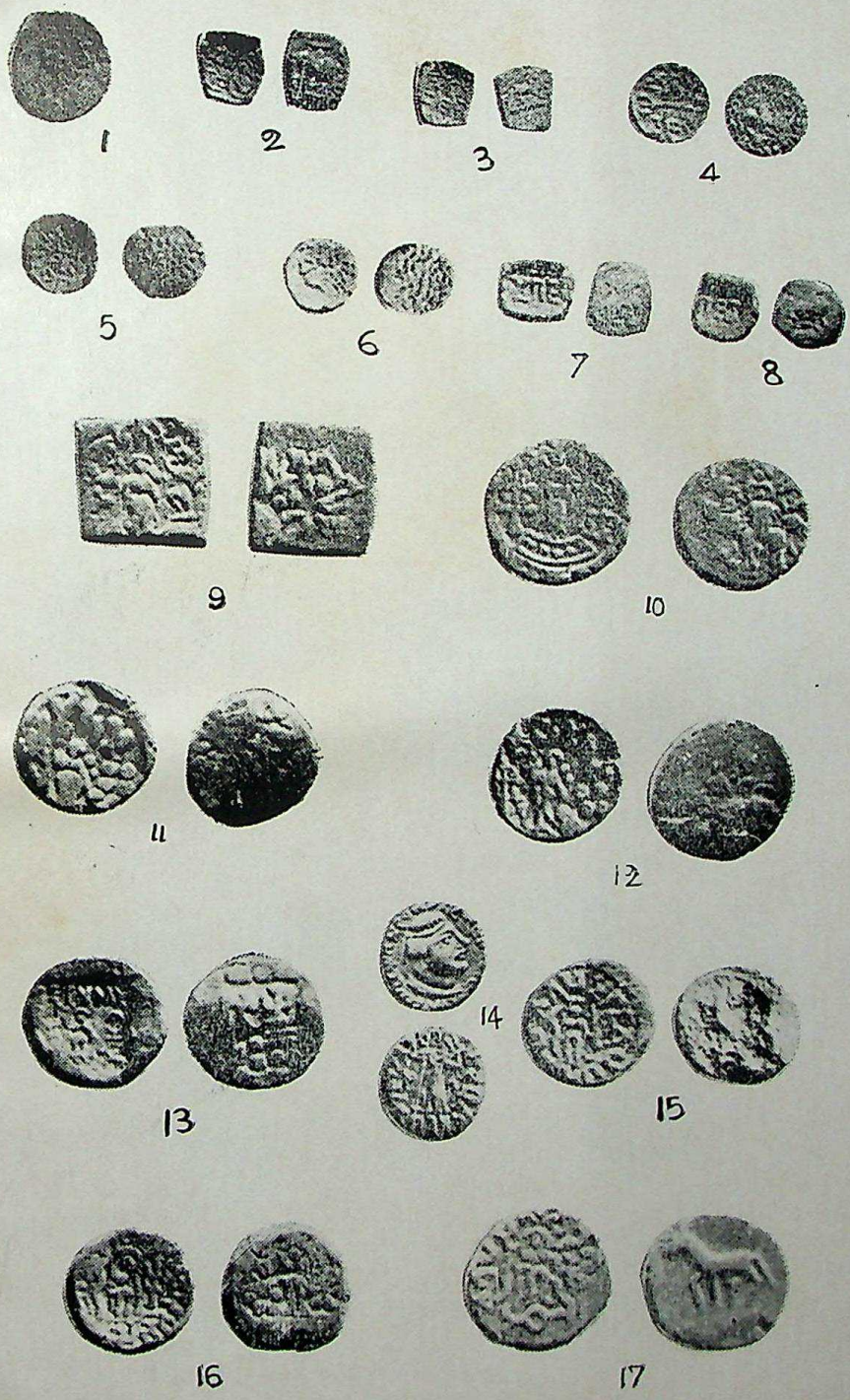

Mālava (1-8) and Mathurā (9-17)

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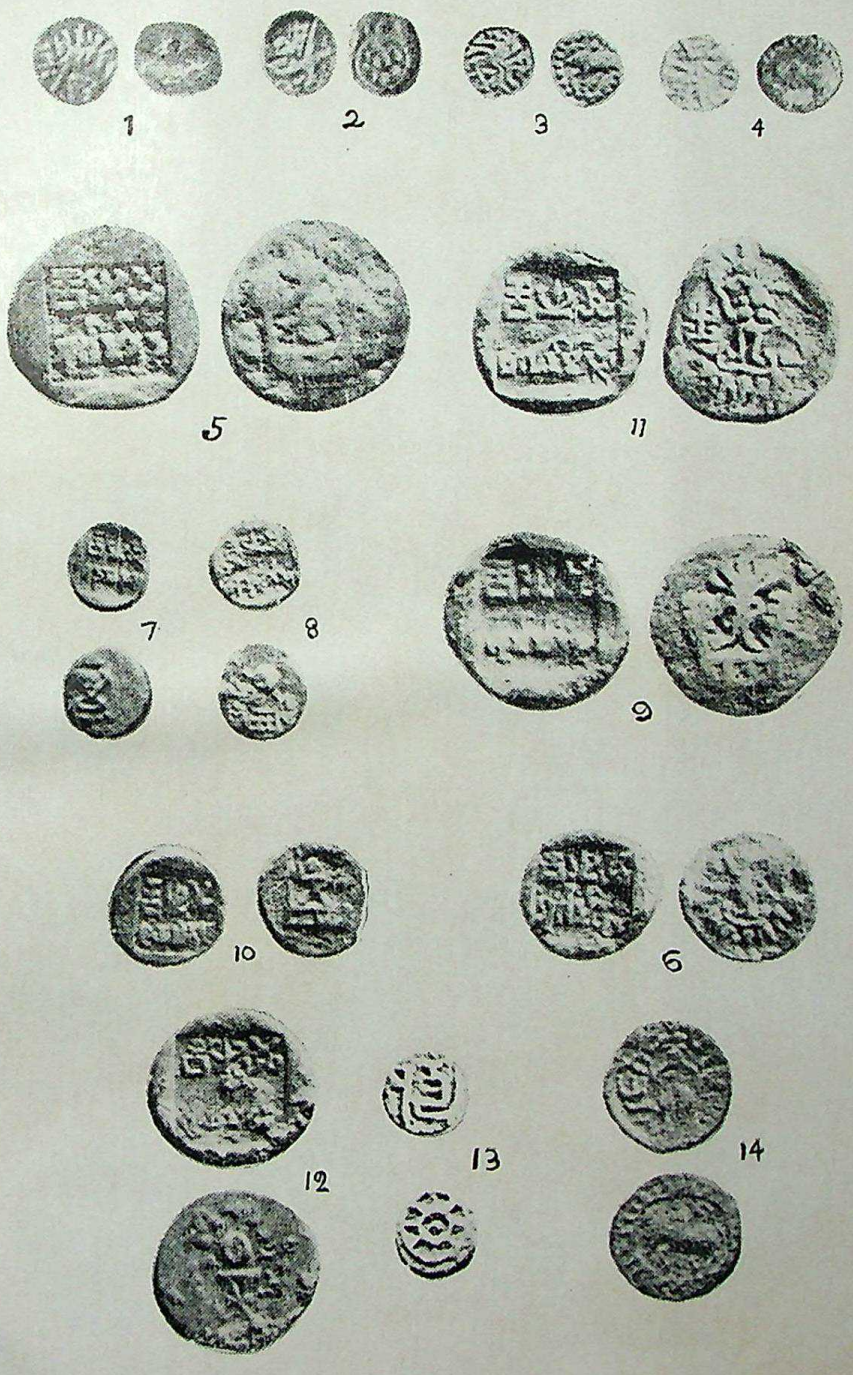

Nāga (1-4), Pañchāla (5-13) and Rājanya (14)

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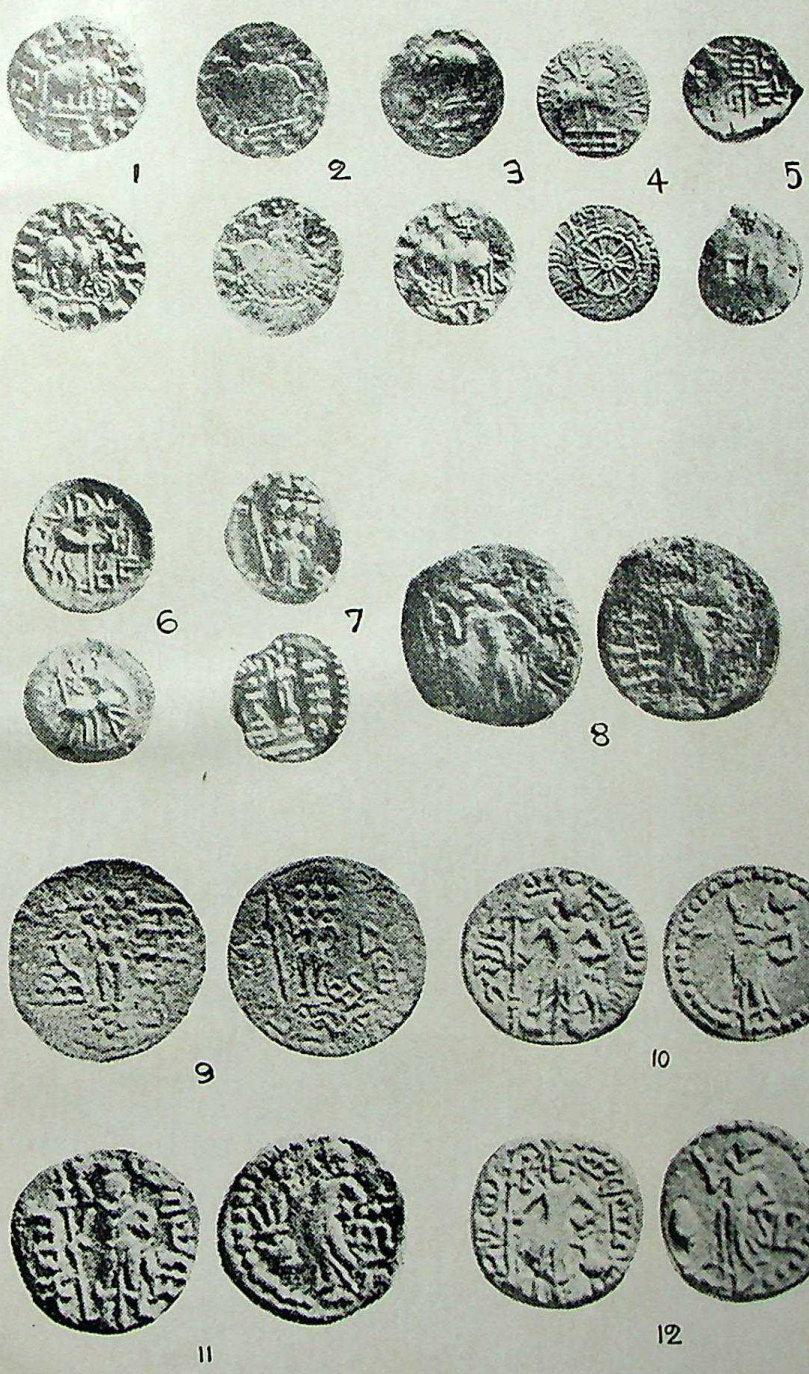

Vemaki (1), Mahādeva (2-3), Vṛishṇi (4) and Yaudheya (5-12)

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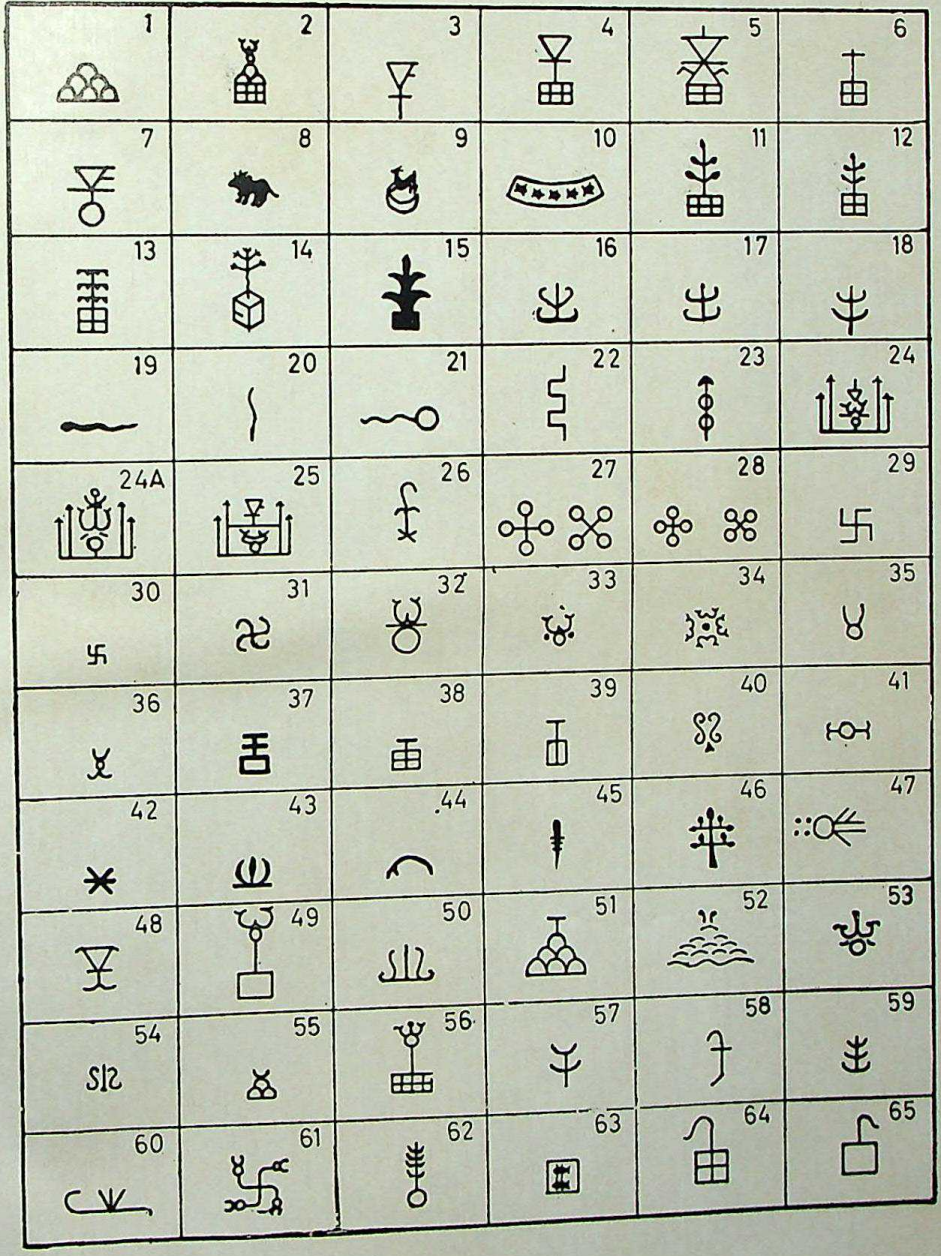
Symbols



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